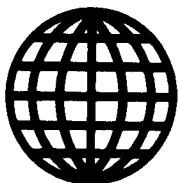


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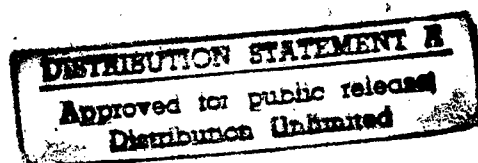
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26 AUGUST 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***



## **East Asia**

***Korea***

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## EAST ASIA

### KOREA

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SEOUL DAILY ON NORTH'S ARMS REDUCTION PROPOSAL

SK260305 Seoul HANGUK ILBO in Korean 25 Jul 87 p 2

[Editorial: "The Real Intention of the North's Arms Reduction Proposal -- North-South Dialogue Should Be Resumed First."]

[Text] Whenever political changes or a turning point in politics has occurred in our society over the past, North Korea always advanced some type of proposal or issued a statement or the like. In view of this fact, we had already anticipated that North Korea would stage a camouflaged peace offensive toward South Korea in a bid to wage a political ploy, exploiting our current political situation involving constitutional revision.

In a statement on 23 July, North Korea finally advanced a proposal for holding "multinational disarmament negotiations" in Geneva in March 1988.

Before analyzing the content of the proposal, what draws our attention is the timing of the proposal. North Korea proposes holding negotiations for arms reduction in March 1988. The date of our transfer of government is on 25 February 1988. In other words, North Korea's proposal is tantamount to extortion that our new government should come straight to Geneva without having even a period of a month to prepare for the negotiations. This is not only impossible and unrealistic, but also a discourteous and rude act.

When a peaceful transfer of government is carried out in a country, the newly born government is bound to be very busy for several months at least forming a new line-up for its domestic affairs and foreign policy and establishing a new policy line. This is common sense. North Korea knows this common sense. Yet, North Korea has proposed holding negotiations without taking into consideration the political schedule of South Korea. There must have been some calculation behind this.

At the same time, North Korea claims that its "proposal" is "to alleviate tension and to promote the peaceful reunification of the country." However, the "proposal" failed to refer to the resumption of the existing North-South dialogue, namely, North-South Red Cross talks and North-South economic talks -- which North Korean has unilaterally suspended. We cannot but point this fact out.

The first item of the proposal calls for a phased reduction of the armed forces of the two sides from 1988 to 1991, each maintaining armed forces numbering less than 100,000 after 1992.

If North Korea truly desires arms reduction, why does it maintain its huge armed forces numbering 800,000 at present and why is it frantically introducing modern offensive-huge weapons? Furthermore, the North Korean authorities have stressed "arming all of the people." Therefore, the number of the regular army numbering 800,000 is meaningless.

The second item of the proposal demands withdrawal of the U.S. forces from South Korea. This is not a new proposal. The third item of the proposal calls for informing each other of the "progress of arms reduction" and making it public to the world. This is unrealistic because North Korea is a closed society. The fourth item of the proposal calls for stationing a Neutral Nations supervisory force in the Demilitarized Zone. This is also unrealistic and ineffective. The history of modern international politics has never seen a neutral nations inspection force achieve its mission. The last item of the proposal calls for including representatives of member countries of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in tripartite talks among North and South Korea and the United States. This is also nothing but a design with an impure political aim.

In retrospect, North Korea put forward a unification proposal that calls for founding a confederal republic between the North and the South immediately after the 19 April student uprising in 1960. Right after the 26 October incident in 1979, North Korea proposed holding talks between the premiers of the North and the South and talks between politicians of the North and the South. The so-called "multinational arms reduction talks" advanced by North Korea this time is also another camouflaged peace offensive.

Considering the timing of North Korea's proposal this time, it is certain that North Korea is attempting to split our national consensus on the issue of national unification and our national policy toward North Korea during the period to the election next year. It is also certain that North Korea will attempt to create social confusion when our new government is established next spring. Also, we can easily estimate that North Korea will further fan anti-U.S. sentiment among our people on the threshold of the period of political transition in 1988.

However, North Korea's peace offensive toward us -- which has an impure political aim -- will not work. Instead, North Korea's proposal will definitely serve to enhance vigilance against North Korea among our politicians, both ruling and opposition camps. In other words, our politicians, will further enhance vigilance against North Korea's maneuvers to split our national consensus in the upcoming election season. We believe that the issue of North-South dialogue will be dealt with in earnest after the new government is established next year. North Korea had better await resumption of the existing North-South dialogue until then.

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CSO: 4107/229

## PROGRESS IN CONSTRUCTION OF KWANGBOK SPORTS COMPLEX

Pyongyang NODONG CHONGNYON in Korean 1 May 87 p 1

[Text] Kwangbok Street, which is rising up in the capital of the revolution, Pyongyang, is taking on the appearance of a magnificent new street.

The basic axis of the street, which is up to 100 meters in width, is in place. On either side there rise up, one after another, tall apartment buildings and public buildings of 14--30 stories and more.

Structural work is basically completed on highway overpasses--Kwangbok 1 and Kwangbok 2, Tangsang, and Ch'ilgol--all of which are placed above the road axis, so that a road beginning from the improved Mungwangjang (culture center) stretches right through the Moranbong District, the Pot'onggang District, and through the Kwangbok Street construction area to the road that goes to Mangyongdae. Newly constructed Kwangbok Street is being linked with other major streets of the capital.

Structural assembly is actively underway on tens of buildings such as public buildings and numerous large-scale apartment blocks (tongji ka k'un yoro hodong ui sallim chip), including seven-section apartment blocks that can each accommodate nearly 1,200 households.

At nearly all the indoor athletic facility construction sites in Angol, construction has reached the roof assembly stage, and now each athletic facility has begun to reveal its appearance and to compete in pride in its unique beauty.

At the light events gymnasium and the heavy events gymnasium, exterior beautification finishing work has already begun.

During the past 8 months, since last summer's mass rally of capital city citizens to accelerate Kwangbok Street construction, the proud results that have been achieved are the brilliant fruit of the great faith of our people and the Korean People's Army (KPA) soldiers, who are cognizant only of the principles of unconditionality and absolutism in the decisions and directives of our party's wise leadership and our party.

The beloved guide Comrade Kim Chong-il has noted:

"There is nothing that can't be accomplished if the party resolves to do it and says: 'Let us do it.'"

Beloved comrade Kim Chong-il, who originated the idea of the construction of Kwangbok Street, which is the largest construction project, and one rarely seen before in the history of construction in the capital city, has given guidance to enable the newly soaring buildings to become new structures of the party era, as he examines each one individually, from the overall planning of the lay out to the style of each individual building, and has made brilliantly clear the detailed construction orientation/direction and plans.

The beloved Comrade Kim Chong-il recently again established measures for completion of construction for the 13th World Youth and Student Festival, including Kwangbok Street construction, and permitted yet another transformation in the construction of Kwangbok Street.

Holding high the guidance of the party, the young construction workers of Pyongyang and each province, the soldiers of the KPA, and many citizens of the capital city are constructing new miracles and innovations at each construction site.

In order to achieve the party's purpose concerning prior construction of the axis for a major road network, various construction and support units--including the Pyongyang Bridge Construction Regiment, the Facilities Construction Regiment, and the 15 April Loyalty Shock Brigade--have pooled their labor and construction equipment and boldly begun a vast construction battle, thereby carrying out large-scale earth-moving work and underground facility construction in a short period of time. Construction workers on the Tangsang and Ch'ilgol highway overpasses are engaging in a "three-dimensional battle" and in less than a month have basically completed structural work and currently are accelerating the final work.

Workers on the Student and Children's Palace, using chuche engineering methods, have erected the first part to a height of 40 meters. Military construction workers of Comrade An P'i-tuk's unit of the KPA, which is responsible for building the Kyoye Theater, have completed basic construction work on vast underground structures and accelerated aboveground structural assembly. Some time ago they already began to raise trusses into position for the roof and eaves.

Some days ago, the young construction workers of the 2d Brigade of the Speed Battle Youth Shock Brigade redid the appearance of the Kwangbok Street construction site, raising the final story of the 33-story Youth Hotel and advancing the April plan target considerably, as well as proceeded with the assembly of support buildings at 1.3 times the planned speed.

Construction workers on the various athletic facilities at the Angol Stadium also have widely adopted advanced construction operations, including large-scale aboveground assembly, and are increasing their construction speed.



In particular, the Hwanghae Province Youth Construction Brigade is vigorously carrying on the struggle to complete exterior finishing and construction of an underground courts for the handball gymnasium, and the Yanggang Province Youth Construction brigade is bringing about a concentrated renovation in roofing construction and exterior finishing on the Heavy and Light Events Gymnasiums.

Meanwhile, housing construction workers in various units, who have assembled some 250,000 square meters of housing structures so far this year are taking new leaps forward in housing construction and are continually increasing the number of assembled structures.

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## DJP, RDP PROPOSALS FOR NEW CONSTITUTION REVEALED

Seoul CHOSON ILBO in Korean 7 Jul 87 p 5

[Reported by DJP chief policy masker Yim Ch'ol-sun and RDP chief policy maker Pak Ch'an-chong: "A New Constitution as Recommended by Our Party"]

[Text] Remarks by Yim Ch'ol-sun, chairman of the DJP Policy Committee:

Before starting to draft a revised constitution, our party studied various systems that would allow genuine democracy to take hold in our country by putting an end to the long established practice of one-man rule and by establishing the tradition of a peaceful transfer of government. It is a well-known fact that through this study, we came up with a constitutional revision plan providing for a parliamentary system of government, which may be called the flower of democracy, the merit of which has been proven in the world's advanced countries, both historically and theoretically, and we are working hard to achieve this goal. However, the sharp conflict of opinion between the proponents of the presidential system with direct elections and those who favor a parliamentary system resulted in a division of public opinion and precipitated dire social chaos.

As a consequence, with a view to defusing the social confusion and achieving great national reconciliation, our DJP chairman No Tae-u issued his 29 June "declaration for great national harmony and for transition to a great state," and subsequently, President Chon Tu-hwan, in his 1 July special statement, totally endorsed the 29 June declaration. From the point of view of great national reconciliation, our party has willingly agreed to the opposition demand for a direct presidential election, thereby providing a forum for achieving a constitutional revision on the basis of a national consensus.

With a view to ending a 40-year history of the repeated vicious cycle of a long dictatorship followed by the suspension of the constitution and the subsequent occurrence of a national crisis, our party regarded the division of power and the promotion of the citizens' fundamental human rights as the basic direction to be followed in revising the constitution. They adopted a constitutional revision plan envisioning the parliamentary system and they have endeavored to push ahead with this plan. Therefore, although we have

agreed to changing the method of electing a president from the current indirect election system to the direct election system, this basic spirit of ours regarding constitutional revision remains unchanged.

In drafting a new constitution, we will do our best to make the constitution truly serve the people, not those in power, and play an intimate role in the daily life of the people. In revising the constitution, we will definitely adopt the principle that the interests of the people are the highest priority.

The basic direction of constitutional revision as sought by our party is as follows: First, to keep alive the spirit and tradition of the anti-Japanese independence movement, in the foreword to the revised constitution, a specific mention will be made that the revised constitution inherits the mantle of legitimacy from the Provisional Government of Republic of Korea.

Second, the revised constitution will be aimed at promoting basic rights. The constitution is the basic framework for promoting citizens's basic rights. In other words, according to the spirit of constitutionalism that state power is nothing more than a means for promoting basic rights, our party regards the promotion of citizens' basic rights as the focus of constitutional revision. First, with respect to personal liberty, the new constitution will provide for the full implementation of habeas corpus to examine the legality of detention, a state compensation system for damages incurred to victims of criminal cases, and the exercise of prudence in deciding legality for confinement.

The standards for restraining citizens' basic rights by state power will be strictly limited. We will also see to it that the revised constitution reflects our intention to promote freedom of speech, protect citizens' property, and insure the three basic rights of labor.

Third, we will work out a statutory device to disperse presidential authority in order to pave the way for constant democratic development by preventing a dictatorship through the division of power, and also to counter the demerits of the presidential system, specifically, the tendency of presidential power to become autocratic, prolonged, and inflexible. To be specific, the president's powers in relation to the legislature, the judicial branch, and the citizens will be properly restricted in accordance with the principle of division of power among the three branches of government.

On the other hand, our party will study ways to make the state council operate as a decision-making apparatus responsible for the people, instead of being a mere deliberative body.

Fourth, we will seek to recover the authority of the National Assembly and revitalize its functions.

We want to strengthen all the faculties of the National Assembly by strengthening its authority and revitalizing its functions so that the legislature may be elevated to the status as the center of government.

Fifth, the independence of judicial authority will be firmly insured.

By independence of judicial authority we mean the judicial branch's ability to exercise an independent power to appoint its personnel and prepare its own budget and to pass its own judgment on judicial cases. We will devise statutory means for insuring this independence.

As for the power to make a final decision on constitutional issues, we will study this problem with a view to strengthening what is called judicial controls so that the judicial branch, which may be called the last bulwark of the constitution, can check the executive branch or restrain political anomalies from the constitutional point of view. To this end, we will study ways to include provisions in the new constitution, such as one giving the supreme court the power to rule on constitutional issues.

Concerning economic provisions, we will actively study various provisions for checking the concentration and abuse of corporate powers with a view to establishing an economic order which can harmonize the free-market economy with public interests. We will also study provisions for protecting small and medium-scale enterprises and local economies--provisions which are appropriate in coping with the highly industrialized society.

In addition, we will do our best to protect and foster the middle class and realize a fair distribution of wealth.

We will also see to it that local autonomy proceeds smoothly as scheduled.

Needless to say, an essential problem of the constitution is not a problem concerning the power structure but the problem of how to insure the liberties and rights of the citizens under the constitution. Therefore, we should not overlook the fact that the constitution is based on a national consensus and is the supreme, ultimate charter for the protection of human rights. Nevertheless, a revision of the constitution alone will not perpetuate democracy or automatically expand citizens' liberties and rights. Our party will give the highest priority to translating the ideals of the constitution into practice through practical, positive laws so that the effects of constitutional provisions may be felt in the people's daily life.

Through the forthcoming constitutional revision, we will strive to put an end to the controversy over legitimacy or the dictatorship, terminate the extreme confrontational stance of the ruling and opposition parties, and let democracy take hold through dialogues and discussions. We will deal with constitutional revision from a supraparty point of view and from a standpoint of national interest transcending partisan interest of the party in power. Transcending the position of being the ruling party, we will do our best to come up with a draft revision of the constitution which will not only be our draft but one of both the ruling and opposition parties, nay even a draft of the whole nation, with the true open-minded conviction that a new government is to be set up based on the people's judgment. I want to add that any written or verbal suggestions contributed by our citizens concerning constitutional revision will be given sincere consideration.

Remarks by Pak Ch'an-chon, chairman of the RDP Policy Committee:

In retrospect, too much time had been spent and enormous sacrifices made prior to the "29 June proposal," and the situation is such that we still have to watch closely how this proposal will be put into practice. The 12 February general election 2 years and 5 months ago confirmed the desires of the public for a direct presidential election system, and at that time, the aforementioned proposal should have been made. As a politician, I feel solemnly responsible for having wasted 2 years and 5 months since the election. In working out a framework for a constitutional revision plan and carrying out necessary negotiations, it is necessary, first of all, to create a "climate favorable for dialogue," with the "release of detainees" and "pardon and restoration of civil rights" as its minimum condition.

We once again urge that detainees and those entitled to pardon and restoration of civil rights should be freed from the legal snare and allowed to participate in the debate on the constitutional revision issue in one form or another. People evicted from their shanties, workers, farmers, and students also should be allowed to participate in the debate. Only this will confirm that the "29 June proposal" was after all a "victory for civil rights," and it will be the only way to prevent any flaw in the legitimacy of the constitutional debate and the revised constitution.

The first question which confronts us is how to describe the presidential powers. The president should effectively lead the executive branch and should not encroach upon the jurisdiction of the National Assembly and the judicial branch. The title of president should not be something that makes people tremble in awe.

There should be an institutional apparatus for training future presidential successors, and the presidential records should be open to public scrutiny. How should all this be reflected in the forthcoming constitutional provision? Under the U.S.-type presidential system, the position and authority of the president are balanced against the legislative and judicial branches as a general rule.

However, in each of the Latin American, African, Middle East, and Southeast Asian countries which have supposedly patterned their presidencies after the U.S. system, the president, who is at once the head of state and the head of the executive branch, occupies a position superior to the legislative and judicial branches. As a result, these branches have no way of countering the concentration of powers in the hands of the president by either constitutional or practical means, nor can they check the exercise of presidential powers. This is what is commonly known as a "new presidential system." The presidencies in our Fourth and Fifth Republics may fall under this category, with the presidential authority reaching the point of becoming the cult of personality..

The Third Republic may be said to fall somewhere between the U.S. model and the new presidential system. Using these models as reference, we should specify the new presidential image when we draw up the constitutional provisions. The president should have full practical authority as the head of the executive branch and should be vested with an emergency fiscal disbursement authority, the power to declare martial law, and the power to

refer important state affairs to a national referendum. The power to dissolve the National Assembly should be determined depending on how the relationship between the president and the legislature is defined. In our opinion, the introduction of the vice presidential system will not only insure succession in the event some accident happens to the president but also provide the "possibility of foreseeing the future" through training of possible successors, thereby helping remove uncertainties about "future change" in society as a whole. To provide an opportunity to evaluate the president's record, it is possible to consider ways to permit another 4-year term for an incumbent president.

The National Assembly should be granted the power to name a special prosecutor to investigate cases which cannot be properly handled by the exercise of the legislative power to investigate state administration.

The legislative power to investigate the conduct of state affairs ought to be restored, but wasteful practices should be eliminated by preventing two or more inspection teams from investigating the same executive agency. The power to dismiss cabinet members should be determined in relation to the power to dissolve the National Assembly. In the U.S. model, both the power to dissolve the Congress and the power to pass a cabinet vote of nonconfidence are not recognized. The new constitution should not provide for a new presidential system in which the president lords it over the three branches of government. From this point of view, it is desirable for the new constitution to recognize neither the presidential power to dissolve the national assembly nor the legislative power to pass a nonconfidence vote in the cabinet.

The legislature can check the executive branch without the power to pass a nonconfidence vote because it can do so by exercising its power to audit and investigate the conduct of state affairs. This is because when wrong doings come to light through an audit or investigation, the minister concerned is bound to be accountable for such wrong doings.

The presidential right to veto a bill should be recognized as prescribed in the constitution of the Fifth Republic. As long as the right to bring about a nonconfidence vote in the cabinet and the right to dissolve the National Assembly are not recognized, the veto power should be granted for the sake of checks and balances. There should be provisions to maintain the integrity of legislators and enhance ethical procedures in legislative activities. These provisions should deal resourcefully with problems concerning political funds.

The independence of the judicial branch should be thoroughly protected and insured. Unfortunately, the constitution of the Fifth Republic has resulted in the complete subordination of the judicial branch to the executive branch.

One way of choosing the chief justice of the Supreme Court is to elect him by direct vote at a "conference for the nomination of judges," made up of members selected in a fair and objective way, or by "eligible judges throughout the country."

The title of the judges of the Supreme Court should be changed to "taepopkwan" [grand judges] to enhance their dignity. In case the chief justice is chosen

by a direct vote, justices will be chosen by the "conference for the nomination of justices" under jurisdiction of the chief justice. Otherwise, all the justices, including the chief justice, will be elected at the "conference for the nomination of justices" and ordinary judges will be appointed by the chief justice according to a recommendation made by the conference of justices. It seems proper to set the term of all the justices of the Supreme Court including the chief justices at 10 years, subject to reappointment for another term, and grant all other judges a lifetime tenure. It is necessary to grant the judicial branch the right to compile its own budget.

The Constitution Committee should be abolished and the power to examine the constitutionality of statutes should be vested in the Supreme Court. To insure human rights, including the prevention of torture, any evidence collected by illegal means should be made inadmissible as evidence. There should be a provision for granting citizens the right to resist so that they can exercise the right to self-defense against violence committed by authorities. There should also be a legitimacy provision on inheriting the spirit of the 1 March Independence Movement and the lineage of the Provisional Government. There should be clear provisions insuring the three rights of labor, protecting the farmers and fishermen, and defending the rights of the poor. The workers' right to participate in management has long been granted in Yugoslavia and West Germany, but due to the high-degree of specialization of jobs in each sector of an industrialized society, this participatory right has turned out to be ineffectual. Therefore, it seems advisable to improve the effectiveness of the "collective bargaining right."

Since 29 June, after making the tremendous sacrifices mentioned above, the way has been paved to resume debate on constitutional revision. These sacrifices include the sacrifices of numerous martyrs for democracy, such as the victims of the Kwangju uprising and those who perished in self-immolations. There should be a provision for comforting their souls and preserving and glorifying their honor, and for the state to responsibly guarantee the livelihood of their bereaved families.

The constitution is a printed document. To give legitimacy to it, debate and negotiations should be conducted in such a free atmosphere as to allay the ill feelings of the victims. This will be possible only when the government and the ruling party open their hearts and get ready to surrender power. We earnestly pray that the government and the ruling party will do so.

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CSO: 4107/220

## BUSINESS SECTOR'S CONCERN OVER POLITICAL UNREST REPORTED

Seoul MAEIL KYONGJE SINMUN in Korean 20 Jun 87 p 1

[Text] The continuing demonstrations day after day and the uneasiness over the political situation are having a considerable impact on the economy.

The visits by foreign buyers have decreased markedly and the flow of foreign tourists is slowing down.

From the clusters of small shops around the South Gate and other areas to giant department stores such as Sinsekye [New World] and Lotte, everywhere the retail business is in effect in a state of paralysis.

Some corporations have even suspended their planned investment in plant and equipment, and there are unmistakable signs that economic uncertainties will come to the fore in the event of prolongation of the political unrest.

The economic sector is deeply concerned about the possibility that the current political unrest might revert our economy to the vicious cycle of stagnation, low growth, and high inflation--our economy that has, buoyed by a favorable turn in the global economic environment since last year, been on a steady upward spiral with an outstanding growth rate remarkable even among the newly industrializing countries (NICs) of Asia. For this reason, those of the economic sector are unanimous in their view that on the one hand the politicians must accept the will of the people and make a bold, epochal decision to ensure stabilization of the political situation, and that on the other hand the students should refrain from resorting to excessively violent demonstrations that are potentially threatening to business activities and should seek peaceful means to resolve the impasse.

At the same time, with the realization that stable economic growth in itself is an important ingredient for the nation's democratic development, the business sector is hardening its resolve to do everything within its power to let the industrial activity go forward undeterred.

The impact of the political unrest on the business sector is readily evident in the current state of the inflow of foreign buyers.



According to a survey by the Association of Buying Offices, lately there has been an increasing tendency to avoid South Korea even by those foreign buyers who are making their usual round of Southeast Asian countries by way of Singapore, Taiwan, Japan, and Hong Kong.

As a result, it is estimated that the rate of arrivals by foreign buyers since the event of 10 June has been about 10-20 percent lower than what it was during the first quarter of this year.

Of particular note is the prediction by the Association of Buying Offices that the detrimental effects of such a drastic reduction in the number of foreign buyers visiting this country will hit small exporters harder than general trading companies.

This prediction is based on the fact that whereas general trading companies, operating through their own excellent organizational network abroad and dealing mostly with clients who are their long-term, sustained customers, are not heavily dependent on the visiting foreign buyers, the small exporters are unable to generate much of their business unless they maintain contact with those buyers who visit our country.

Among the worst hit--hit as hard as the small exporters are--by this demonstration-rampant political situation are the small merchants.

Take the case of the South Gate Market, for example: normally between 4,000 and 5,000 local wholesalers from outlying regions come to this market each day, but since the demonstrations began in earnest the number has plummeted to the 2,000 level or roughly one-half of what it used to be.

Meanwhile, those construction-materials dealers along Ulchi-ro [one of the main streets in Seoul], who should be doing very well right now as this is their peak demand period, are open for business but might just as well be closed because the Ulchi-ro area has become the hub of demonstrations.

The case of small retailers aside, even such giant department stores as Sinsekye, Lotte, and Midop'a are recording a 30-40 percent drop in their sales volume despite the major bargain-sales they are having these days to mark the closing of the first half of their business year.

In the case of Sinsekye, its daily sales volume has nosedived from the 400-million-won norm to about 230 million won nowadays.

The upward trend in the inflow of foreign tourists has slowed down as well.

According to the figures compiled by the Tourism Corp., during the 7-day period from the 10th through the 16th of June a total of 45,079 tourists entered the country, which was an increase of 15.5 percent over the same period a year ago. But it was a significant decline when compared to the 18.1 percent average monthly increase that had occurred during January through May of this year.

Especially cancellations of reservations by Japanese tour groups have now become a frequent occurrence, and the hotel business--particularly downtown hotels such as the Plaza and the Lotte--is suffering from a rising rate of vacancies.

Consequently, the merchants at the Yit'aewon market, a favorite shopping spot of foreign tourists, are in near tears these days, complaining that their daily sales volume has shrunk by some 20-30 percent from the usual level.

But far more serious than any of the things cited above is the withering of investment spirit on the part of corporations.

In this connection, it was disclosed by President Kim Nak-so of Kyesong Co. that "since the outbreak of the current series of demonstrations, some corporations have been engaged in a sweeping review of their capital planning and have already taken such steps as readjusting the timing of their planned capital investments."

"The most serious ill effect of political instability is the diminution of one's ability to predict the future, making rational investment planning impossible, which in turn inevitably leads to the withering of one's 'drive toward reforms'--the motive power of the economy," Professor Ch'oe Kwang of the University of Foreign Studies pointed out.

What concerns the business sector is that even these few signs of economic uncertainty that have already surfaced are enough to constitute a clear indication of an eclipse that is setting in to the growth potentiality of our economy.

"Even without the unsettling effect of the demonstrations, our economy is already faced with unprecedented difficulties due to the accelerating appreciation of the won's value and the opening of our market," pointed out President Kyong Se-ho of Ssangbangul Trading Co., who then had these additional words of concern: "Should the contraction of the production activity, caused by the political unrest, affect the export industry, our economy will then truly be in for a 'double torture'."

All this explains the rising voice within the business sector, appealing for an early stabilization of the political situation.

Yu Kum-hong (age 42), a merchant at the South Gate Market, had this to say: "Self-assertion is fine, but it has to be backed by willingness for dialogue and compromise; above all, it must not bring sufferings to ordinary citizens like us who are just trying to make a living."

Song Il-sop (age 53), a construction-materials dealer located at Ulchi-ro, made this appeal: "I only hope that the government will yield sufficiently to the demand of the students and the students will refrain from acts of radicalism so that I may carry on my business with peace of mind."

"Perhaps politics can afford to stop and rest a while, but no such luxury is permissible for the economy," said President Kim Ch'ang-hui of Daewoo Securities. "Political issues ought to be resolved within the political sector through dialogue and compromise; they must not be allowed to halt the economic activity," he added.

Meanwhile, Professor Yi Chae-ung of Songgyungwan University had these words of caution: "Although it is true that our economy has become strong enough to withstand even a fairly formidable shock, the real question is whether our businessmen are strong enough to maintain their composure." He then appealed to the business people not to lose the kind of unflinching and mature attitude which they were capable of displaying even under the chaotic political situation at the time of the "26 October" event.

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CSO: 4107/209

## GRASS-ROOTS SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO RESOLVE CURRENT CRISIS

Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean 19 Jun 87 p 3

[Text] The tension in political circles, caused by extreme confrontation between the ruling party and the opposition, has now reached a critical point, heightening a sense of crisis throughout this land. Since the event of "10 June," demonstrations by university students and the citizenry have continued to spread nationwide with increasing intensity; yet, the political sector including the DJP and the Reunification Democratic Party [RDP]--those who are directly responsible for the conduct of political affairs--has been unable to find even an opening for a dialogue. Extremely restless about the situation, the people are now urging the government, the ruling party, and the opposition to promptly come up with some epochal ideas to save this crisis on hand.

## Democratization and Olympics Are Inseparable

Ch'oe Kyu-nam (former president of Seoul University): The problem is: Both the ruling party and the opposition are trying to deal with the fundamental issue of democratization and the immediate issue of the Olympics as if these are separate issues. Democratization, being our national goal, must be pushed forward tirelessly at all times, while a practical issue ought to be dealt with on its own merit. In short, these are two issues which must be resolved simultaneously; all wise heads should come together in order to take care of these two issues through discussions. Reforms by compromise are the desirable road to democratization.

## Time for a Decision by the Government and the Ruling Party

Kim Chun-yop (former president of Koryo University): If there is anything that can resolve the current impasse, it will be the immediate resumption of the talks on constitutional reform. If the talks fail to produce an agreement between the two sides, holding a referendum should not be ruled out because the issue must be settled no matter what. The current crisis was triggered by the action of 13 April; so, what is called for now is a prompt decision by the government and the ruling party. Once the constitutional reform debate is resumed, I believe the situation will become manageable.

## Managerial Adroitness Matters More Than the System

Kim Won-man (vice president of the old New Korea Democratic Party): The recent resistance by the people is the consequence of the 13 April action. At this point, when ordinary citizens are joining the demonstrations by students, if the government and the ruling party find it morally difficult to justify retracting the announcement of 13 April, they should consider putting the issue to a national plebiscite. Meanwhile, I know the opposition people are insisting on the direct presidential election system; my question is, if they are so sure of their chance of winning under that system, why is it that they cannot be equally sure of winning power under the cabinet system? In the final analysis, what really matters is not the system itself but how adroitly the system is managed--this is the point everyone must understand.

## Compromise Must Come From Those Holding Power

Kim Chom-kon (professor at Kyonghui University): This critical political situation is brought about by the government that has strayed from the right path of democracy--a government that ignores the wishes of the people, the master. So, if the government wants to save this crisis, it should get back to the principle of democracy: find out and obey the people's wishes! Politicians who cannot stop being selfish will be discarded by the people; I believe this very process is now under way. The current crisis must be resolved at the initiative of those in power--not by "force" but by "compromise."

## Put the Question to the People

Pak Pyong-pae (vice president of the old Reunification Party): The ruling party and the opposition are insisting on going the opposite ways right now, each demanding the other to hoist a white flag and follow. They should get together at a halfway point and find the ways through a dialogue to restore normalcy to the government and to ensure success of the coming Olympics. They must search out a common ground for compromise in the spirit of give-and-take, each showing the other 9 out of 10 cards it holds. When even this approach proves futile, they ought not hesitate to seek the people's verdict by holding a referendum or new general elections. After all, is it not a logical thing to do to ask the view of the people who are the master?

## Return to the Pre-13 April Position

Kim Chong-han (writer): Students and the popular opposition cannot be blamed for the current social disorder; the entire blame belongs to politicians. Tear-gas grenades may temporarily halt student demonstrations, but the root cause of the unrest remains. Suspension of the constitutional reform debate is what has caused the unrest. Neither the ruling party nor the opposition should be allowed to proceed with one-sided bullying actions simply to satisfy selfish interests. The only proper course is to return to the pre-13 April position, resume discussions unconditionally, and find a democratic solution in the interest of the people.

## Restoration of Legitimacy and Morality Is the Key

Ch'oe Sang-yong (professor at Koryo University): I believe the current political crisis is a manifestation of the people's weariness about repeated acts of maladministration devoid of morality by the regime in power whose legitimacy is already open to question. Those of the ruling party should drop the idea that "the silent majority" has been on their side; those of the opposition ought to be more humble in front of the people by dropping the attitude that the next government is unconditionally "theirs." As long as there is no marked improvement in politics, it will be fundamentally difficult to avoid the vicious cycle of street clashes between university students and the riot police.

## Cleanse the Constitution of Its Undemocratic Elements

Yi Se-chung (chairman of the Seoul Lawyers Association): The recent state of affairs is caused by the people's opposition to the government action suspending the process of constitutional reforms. So, in order to save this crisis, the government measure suspending the constitutional reform process must be retracted above all else. I also believe that, if those in power continue as they have done in the past to make policy decisions based on their one-sided ideas, or if either the ruling party or the opposition should insist on their own political agenda and wishes, this difficult situation will not be resolved. The undemocratic provisions of the existing Constitution must be redressed as soon as possible.

## Olympics Must Be Saved

Kim Sang-yong (chairman of the Industrial Policy Research Institute): What worries me is the possibility that we may end up losing the once-in-lifetime opportunity of hosting the Olympics as a result of the current political instability and social unrest. Should that happen, I want to point out that all the responsibility rests with the political leaders of the government and the opposition. If both sides are going to remain on parallel courses and keep on squabbling with neither side willing to accept a model solution, a better alternative--certainly one way to settle the matter--would be to collect all the deadlocked issues and present them to the people over a holiday for their views.

## Disillusioned by Power-Hungriness of Both Sides

Ma Kyong-sok (Korean Engineers Club): Why must the debate on constitutional reform be suspended? If only democracy can be assured, does it really matter whether we have one system or another? It cannot matter. All the fuss over the question of system exposes one thing clearly: that both the ruling party and the opposition are gone mad because of their power-hungriness. Caught between these two egotistic groups, grieving are the people. Should the entire people be made such a fool of by irresponsible acts of a handful of politicians!? A dialogue with an open mind on both sides is needed badly.

### Pitiful Are the Youths on the Street

Yi Tong-won (professor at Yihwa University): Whether they are headband-wearing students demonstrating or policemen in combat gear trying to control the demonstrations, I feel so terribly sorry for them. To those politicians who have driven these young men out to the street like this, I like to ask whether they even understand the true meaning of the word "dialogue." I do not believe the debate on constitutional reform can be put off any longer. I would like to beseech those of the ruling party to correctly gauge the feelings of many people who share this belief of mine--even though they may not have signed a petition or marched on the street.

### Peaceful Expression of Opinion Must Be Guaranteed

O Se-ch'ol (professor at Yonse University): The way to resolving the political crisis must be paved by retracting the "13 April" action and resuming the debate on constitutional reform. The ruling party would be amiss if it did not have an accurate reading of public sentiment and the true wishes of the people. Only by having such an understanding would they be able to find a proper course of action toward resolving the problems on hand. The students and citizenry must be guaranteed the right to express their democratization wishes through peaceful means without causing undue damages to the public order. But any mode of struggle resorting to violence ought to be denied. Likewise, the police should stop using all physical methods of crowd control such as firing of tear-gas shells that are detrimental to human lives.

### Restrictions on Freedom and Human Rights Are the Culprit

Kim Ho-sik (pastor of the Kyongdong Church): In my view, the question on the legitimacy of the present regime is the most fundamental cause of today's political crisis. That aside, one can cite other reasons such as the restrictions placed on freedom and human rights throughout the society, the dishonesty and corruptions among the leadership elements, and the widening gap between the rich and the poor. Forgetting their self-interests, both the ruling party and the opposition ought to do their best to bring about democratization so eagerly awaited by the people and to keep their promise for constitutional reform by mutual agreement.

### Politicians Make Mistakes, People Suffer Consequences

Kim Tong-in (chairman of the Federation of Labor Unions in South Korea): The 8 million workers--most of them are plain-old folk trying to make their living--are very uneasy and having a sense of crisis about the current political situation. My question is: Why should the people, law-abiding folk, minding their own business in good faith, suffer the consequences of misgovernment by the politicians? The politicians in and out of power should open their minds to each other and through candid discussion find the way to resolve the current crisis. Meanwhile, citizens certainly can express their political views, but if they lean toward the use of violence, it means trouble.

### Self-Restraint Based on Mutual Respect

Ko Song-kon (director of the Hyehwa Hospital affiliated to Koryo University): I believe that nonsensical handling of the political situation by both the ruling party and the opposition is responsible for the current crisis. Only when politicians on both sides and all the students recognize the right of their adversaries, exercise self-restraint, and start working out those problems which all of them can appreciate, would there be an opening for the resolution of this crisis--this can only be done through dialogue. I only hope that those of the ruling party will stop being overconfident about their superiority in numbers and strength and will manage the situation wisely by taking a wide view of things--that the presence of a strong opposition is what makes the nation grow.

### Confirm Public Sentiment by a National Referendum

Yun Pyong-cho (playwright): With all its confrontations, dissensions, and reversals, politics still has to have the ability to bring inspiration and joy to the people. This time it failed to do just that and that is why we have the crisis on hand now. This crisis will have to be resolved by a vote. Right now the people are anxious to try their vote--they are filled with that desire and craving. As for the most accurate means of gauging public sentiment, I believe balloting is it--none better.

### Make an Earnest Effort To Distill Public Sentiment

Ch'oe Chae-yul (professor at Chonnam University): The only way to break the current deadlock is to have the 13 April measure retracted immediately and for the ruling party and the opposition to move toward a dialogue from unselfish motives. Those of the ruling party should acknowledge public sentiment as what it is and make an earnest effort to distill it down to its essence. Those of the opposition should avail themselves to such a dialogue by discarding their impetuous desire to push their own argument through. The students, meanwhile, should try to make their point by peaceful methods to the maximum extent possible.

### Arbitrariness of Some Politicians Is the Problem

Han Mal-suk (writer): These days, as I watch university students waging violent demonstrations on the street, confronted by similarly young men of the riot police, I cannot help but feel that the price of the crimes of arbitrariness and egotism wrought by some politicians is being paid by these innocent men of the young generation. One day, driven by overwhelming pity toward student Yi Han-yol drifting in a state of coma after being hit by a tear-gas canister, I rushed over to the hospital where I met his mother. When I observe, as I did then, the deep wounds inflicted on the hearts of simple folk like her as a result of arbitrary acts by a handful of politicians, I feel the urge to put aside the question of what is right and what is wrong with our politics and simply ask those politicians whether they even have the slightest sense of morality.



## Know the Preciousness of a Minority

O Tong-hwi (director of the Ssangyong Economic Research Institute): The people want to express their wishes by a vote and see what happens; they also want the balloting done the right way in a free atmosphere. Both the ruling party and the opposition are espousing democratization, but they differ when it comes to its substance, procedure, and timing--there lies the problem. Each side should accept the existence of the other, and both sides should move toward a dialogue. Especially the ruling party should stop persisting in its one-sided views; instead, it should try to adopt a conciliatory approach which the people might find more acceptable. Those of the ruling party ought to realize that a minority could be more precious than a "perfunctory majority."

## Suspension of the Ruling Party's Political Agenda Is the First Step

Son To-hwa (spokesman for Towon Metal Co.): The current political crisis has resulted from the unilateral declaration that "there cannot be constitutional reform." If only the government can read the strong tide of public sentiment that is saying "the status of us will not do," I believe a way may yet be found to resolve this situation. The kind of logic being used by the government--saying that constitutional reform should be delayed on account of the Olympics and things should remain as they are for the time being, or trying to confuse the changing of regime with peaceful transition of power--is not winning very many converts among the people. Even from the standpoint of hosting the Olympics in the land of democratization as the people would like to have it, I hope the government will suspend, at least for now, its one-sided political agenda, have the constitutional issue settled by a national referendum, and see to it that the country becomes free of demonstrations and tear-gas shells as soon as possible.

## Violence-Begetting Actions Should Be Avoided by All

Song Ho-in (a resident of Hongdong-myon, Hongsong-gun, South Ch'ungch'ong Province): The ruling party must retract the 13 April measure and have the suspended debate on constitutional reform resumed. The opposition should refrain from waging struggles outside the National Assembly and inject self-restraint into the demonstrations that are becoming violent. Although street demonstrations by students ought to be nonviolent, as long as the government fails to respond to their demand, it is unfair just to blame them. The use of tear gas by the police which tends to justify the throwing of rocks and Molotov cocktails by the demonstrators, should be avoided as much as possible so that demonstrations can be kept peaceful.

## Elect New National Assembly To Take Up Constitutional Reform

So Hyong-su (on the planning staff, Lotte Department Store): One approach might be to dissolve the National Assembly, hold general elections, and resume the constitutional reform debate at the newly formed National Assembly. The process of electing new members of the National Assembly in itself will provide the people an opportunity to let their views be known on such issues

as whether or not the Constitution should be revised, how should the power structure of the government be defined in the Constitution, and what system should be used for electing the president. I also believe that student demonstrations need not be viewed negatively so long as they are conducted peacefully.

#### Constitution Should Be Revised To Allow Popular Elections

Yi Ok-ch'un (a resident of the Myongdong business district): Neither student demonstrators nor the police should be blamed for the tear-gas showers we are having in Seoul; it is the politicians who should be blamed. Although the government seems to think we the people are a stupid bunch, in terms of the level of national consciousness our people are second to none. Only by respecting the people's wishes can the government hope to govern well. Why should anyone be censured just for having advocated constitutional reform on the basis of his or her conviction? The Constitution ought to be revised so that the people can elect their own leaders, ranging from the village head through the president, by direct vote.

#### Politicians Are Lagging Behind the People's Awareness

Yi Kye-kyong (publisher of the YOSONG SINMUN): Today's chaotic situation is caused most directly by the 13 April action, but I also believe that its indirect cause is the outrageous disregard of the people's desire for democratization by the statesmen who have lost the sense of morality. The only way to break this deadlock is to resume at once the debate on constitutional reform and give the people the final say in the matter; there is no second best solution, in my view. What makes me feel impatient is the inability of our statesmen to keep up with the level of awareness among the people.

#### Stopgap Measures Will Only Worsen the Chaos

Na Ho-ch'on (chief of Planning Department, ADCOM): The only and the best way to resolve the current crisis is to follow the will of the people by holding a national referendum--this is the path of righteousness. If this is not done and should the government continue to rely on stopgap measures, the chaotic condition could very well spread further. As a starter, I hope the ruling party would give in a little and resume the talks on constitutional reform. I would like to see the ruling party try to lead the political situation from a broader perspective rather than clinging to petty interests. I also hope that the opposition, too, will abide by the basic principles of democratic government.

#### Try To Understand the Anguish of the Working Classes

Pak Sang-su (an employee of Y.C. Antenna): Granted that the place of my employment has little to do directly with politics, still it makes me feel distressed to watch politics spinning out of gear and demonstrations occurring day after day. If the politicians have any understanding at all of the sufferings of those working around the clock at the export front--if

they are sincere about running the country with the interest of the working classes in their mind, they simply would not handle the affairs of the state in such an irresponsible manner that creates more and more chaos. I only hope that the politicians will find a way to solve this difficult situation on their own volition.

#### Irritated by Suppression of Peaceful Demonstrations

Kim Ch'on-ho (a resident of 2nd Block, Hwigyong, Tondaemun-ku, Seoul): I simply feel ashamed as a member of the older generation when I think how bad things must be to drive our own sons and daughters--the students in search of truth who will have to shoulder the nation's long-term interests--out to the street screaming their heads off. I also feel irritated when I observe the excessive use of tear-gas shells as a means to suppress these peaceful demonstrations even when they are not posing much of a threat to public security or to the orderliness of traffic. Retracting the 13 April measure and thereby paving the way for democratic constitutional reform, which is a national consensus, would seem to be the key to resolving the current crisis.

#### Cheap Tricks and Political Scheming Will Not Work

Yang Kon (professor at Hanyang University): The political unrest, which had been viewed as a power struggle between the ruling party and the opposition, has now evolved into a spreading confrontation between those holding government power and the people in general as a result of the 13 April action. This being the case, instead of trying to negotiate with the opposition for reasons of trickery or political maneuver, the ruling party must make a bold decision to acknowledge the public will in its totality and demonstrate before the people its firm resolve to move toward democratization.

#### Avenues of Communication Are Blocked for the People

Kim Song-un (principal of the Koch'ang High School, South Kyongsang Province): The key to the solution of this difficult situation is for the government to follow the will of the people--which is what the people want. The demonstrations now being waged by students and ordinary citizens are, in my view, desperate attempts by the people trying to make their views known--desperate because they are deprived of other avenues for the expression of their opinions. It seems to me that the government ought to ascertain what is in the minds of the people and try to resolve difficult issues through dialogue, one issue at a time.

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## MBC KWANGJU JOURNALISTS BOYCOTT LOCAL NEWS

OW211311 Tokyo KYODO in English 1258 GMT 21 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, 21 July KYODO--About 100 journalists of the Kwangju office of Munhwa Broadcasting Corp. (MBC), one of the country's two major broadcasting stations, began boycotting news coverage and program production Monday to demand the resignation of MBC management leaders and guaranteed freedom of the press.

The boycott forced the Kwangju office to suspend broadcasting local news in Kwangju, in the southwestern part of the country, and carry only news from the Seoul head office Tuesday, reports from Kwangju said.

Last Thursday, about 100 journalists of the private-run MBC Seoul office released a statement calling for fair and impartial news reporting and democratization in media circles and stage a similar 12-hour boycott.

Meanwhile, Culture and information Minister Yi Ung-Hui met national assemblymen from the No 1 Opposition Reunification Democratic Party Tuesday and admitted the fact of the government's "request for cooperation" toward media leaders in view of the government's position on public security, national interests, economic situation and social safety.

Yi said he will be happy if the government can help revitalize media activities through correcting systems as an initial step. As the second step, he hoped that the next government will be able to carry out a complete democratization of the media.

The minister also hinted at a possible lifting of the ban on CBS News broadcasts.

About 40 journalists of the KOREA HERALD, one of two English-language newspapers, also released a statement calling for the abolition of the current basic press law and the resignation of the paper's top leaders in their democratization campaign.

Under the growing media move toward democratization, the Korean Newspapers Association decided Monday to restore the system under which national newspapers in Seoul can base reporters in provincial cities while provincial newspapers can station reporters in Seoul next month.

DAILY URGES TWO KIMS' TO BE PATIENT, AVOID 'BICKERING'

SK201048 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean 20 Jul 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Start Negotiation Over Constitutional Revision at an Early Date--The Opposition Should Begin Documenting the Constitution Before Competing for Power"]

[Text] The democratic fervor which was blown out of proportion by the so-called 29 June declaration seems to be waning a bit lately. Although the rival parties are working out their different drafts for the revision of the Constitution with a direct presidential election system as the central point, earnest compromise between the rival parties has yet to begin. The opposition, which has now received the ball thrown by the ruling party, seems to be more interested in competing for power following constitutional revision than democratization itself.

The opposition's calculation seems to be that the ruling party will carry out constitutional revision, as it has pledged, even if it does nothing about it and therefore the power struggle following constitutional revision is more important. This may be why the two Kims who control the opposition factions seem to be more interested in traveling around the countryside to meet with off-stage figures than in calmly negotiating constitutional revision.

It sounds persuasive that they have to meet with people and off-stage figures to figure out what they think. However, it is not desirable at all if the politicians heed somebody else more or hold the people hostage in settling political differences than resolving them on their own. They may have many places to visit and equally many people to meet as they have been freed from the protracted political ban.

Nevertheless, the people are more interested in whether or not the democratization will be realized at all than in who would hold the reins to power. Admittedly, who would hold the reins to power will of course have something to do with democratization. However, the only thing they are interested in is to realize a democratic society where they will be guaranteed the right to lead a decent human life and where their opinions are counted. They pay little attention to whoever may emerge on the top in the power struggle.

Viewed in this light, the current political development creates in one's mind the impression that the politicians, opposition politicians in particular, are more interested in the rice offered to the Buddha than in prayer in the temple. While the 29 June declaration still remains a declaration and nothing in it has been given shape through negotiations over constitutional revision, they seem to be clinging faster to deciding who will run for the presidency than to codifying the direct presidential election system in the first place. Such being the case, they even utter unreasonable and incoherent remarks about the framing of the Constitution--relations among the president, vice president, prime minister, and National Assembly--while paying more attention to power struggle than in deciding the date for next presidential election.

Criticism of the opposition and off-stage figures has been held back because of the harsh suppression they suffered in the past. But it now deserves as much criticism as does the ruling party.

Words by opposition leaders often make us feel giddy. One opposition leader went back on his words, a publicly announced promise that he would not run for president, on the grounds that in comparison the conditions have changed, changing his mind as easily as turning his hand. Quite recently, another opposition leader said that he would persuade his peer to change his mind and run for president when he has his civil rights restored, regardless of whether he has declared it or not. They are uttering totally different words, forgetting what they said only yesterday.

The opposition leader's public promise that he would soon become a member of the RDP had once been postponed, and it was announced that he would do so after he completed his tour of local areas. But then the traveling to the local areas seems to have evaporated. However, we know who said what words where. Their words can be picked up easily if we look through newspaper clippings.

It is not necessarily because of the nightmarish political development in 1980 that the people hope that the two Kims would avoid the kind of competition that does not exclude voting and instead reach agreement of any kind based on mutual respect. There is a possibility that the outcome of the overheated competition between the two Kims could be used against them. Another possibility is that their overheated competition could result in losing the opportunity of realizing the democratization itself.

In our point of view, there are still many uncertainties lying ahead on the road to democratization. Our concern is that the uncontrolled calls for democratization erupting from all over the country all at the same time could flood the government and politicians to the point where they would run out of their control.

The politicians need more self-restraint and patience especially at such a time. In particular, those who think they have been gagged by force and who think they have been subjected to particularly unfair suppression need to be more patient. The fight they have put up in the past and courage serve as fertilizer to grow a plant called democracy, but they are not enough to bring

the plant to full flower. It needs conditions other than fertilizer, that is, the sun and human care, to bring it to full flower.

Now is the time when the opposition should win support not by taking advantage of the ruling party's errors, but through its own points. This makes it all the more necessary for the opposition to avoid bickering over trifling interests with power up for grabs. It should not forget for even a moment that doing so could result in causing the opportunity of realizing democracy, a cause it has so long yearned to achieve, to pass by.

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## DAILY URGES TWO KIMS' COMPETITION THROUGH VOTE

SK211059 Seoul CHOSON ILBO in Korean 21 Jul 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Two Kims Should Compete Through Vote--We Deplore Noisy Controversy Concerning Their Candidacies"]

[Text] We wish that Kim Tae-chung, chairman of the council for Promotion of Democracy, and Kim Yong-sam, president of the Reunification Democratic Party, would declare fair competition in connection with their candidacies for president, instead of continuing to lay a smoke screen before the people.

As long as there is an election, the people's attention cannot but be focused on who will represent the opposition circles. No one would object to the fact that how to ensure the earnest achievement of democracy is more important to us than who will become the next president. Thus, the issue of who will be the candidate of the opposition circles may not be too important. However, the issue on what method the opposition candidate is to be designated will be an important barometer of democratization in the future political atmosphere and the development of elections.

The two Kims have attempted to conceal their positions toward their presidential candidacies with various smoke screen tactics and tricks of words. They have evaded making their remarks by simply noting "it is not the time" on one occasion and denied their will for candidacy at home after expressing it to foreign newspapers on the other. Thus, they have evaded each case through unpleasant tactics.

Now, what are their true intentions? Frankly speaking, their attitudes suggesting that "no other persons than I will be able to win the final victory of the opposition party and I should not miss this excellent opportunity" have been revealed by their followers. Nevertheless, they have evaded making their attitudes clear. We certainly understand their ideas that they should agree on unifying the candidates without competing by vote to whatever extent possible and their mutual help would contribute to winning the popularity of the opposition forces in the elections without suffering "sores."

On the other hand, however, this gives us the impression that each is awaiting for the other to hang out the white flag. Moreover, this makes us think that each is not only waiting for the other's white flag, but is also concealing their strategies of waiting until the other's error or fault is exposed.



Thus, we believe that such an impression and the way of thinking of the general public will benefit neither of the two and will only serve as an act that goes against victory in the elections. We are truly concerned with the situation in which the two Kims are equally denounced together. The opposition party should be aware that some people have already begun to denounce and condemn the forces that support the two Kims for their deplorable and transparent operations concerning the two's attitudes toward candidacy.

Even though there is no such atmosphere, clarification of positions by the two Kims and their fair competition by vote are desirable for the unity of the opposition part. It is no exaggeration to say that today there is no other method to establish legitimacy than by competing by vote--an election.

Our society has turned into a land where people do not trust anything but a vote. Even if the wisdom of evading competition by vote with success in the behind-the-scenes negotiations is demonstrated, such negotiations may collapse at any time according to the degree of satisfying such "conditions" made behind the scenes. This is a rather common instance we often see around us.

Proceeding from this stance, we believe that fair competition based on the party members' judgment and clean submission would be a more appropriate method of designating the part's candidate and eliminating unnecessary controversy than immature behind-the-scenes negotiations, which have many vulnerabilities.

We also believe that deciding on the method of such fair and just competition between the candidates at an early date is a way for the opposition party to concentrate itself on the more substantive negotiations for constitutional revision.

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CSO: 4107/0223

## DAILY URGES PRESS FREEDOM, ABOLISHING PRESS LAW

SK170954 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean 16 Jul 87 p 2

[Editorial: "New Order After the Abolition of the Basic Press Law--The Press Must Be Allowed To Autonomously Deal With Its Own Affairs and Must Also Nurture the Capabilities To Enjoy Freedom"]

[Text] Amid the recent waves of democratization, the issue of the freedom and autonomy of the press is being actively discussed. Because it is certain that the current Basic Press Law, which has been known to be the main culprit which has suppressed the freedom of the press, will be abolished, attention is being paid to what form of a press order will follow.

We think that it is natural that attention has been focused on the press issue. This is because the freedom of the press is a precondition for democratization and is an important element that "makes all other freedoms genuine." Freedom without freedom of the press is superficial, and the same is true with democratization.

In a word, we believe that the press must be autonomously run by itself, freeing itself from the yoke of control. The government and all other political authorities must resolutely abide by the principle that "One cannot control the press and must not try to do so," a principle that Chairman No Tae-u elucidated in his "29 June declaration."

If they deal with the issue of codifying a law that will replace the current Basic Press Law and other issues with such a firm view on the press, all the restrictions on the press will be naturally removed or minimized to the utmost. Of course, there may take place a grievous situation in which small-sized newspapers flood the market, causing social disorder; in which business conglomerates attempt to take over the mass media; and in which a left-leaning media emerges. However, these issues must be resolved and dealt with on the principles of freedom and autonomy.

As a matter of fact, our press has long suffered from pains and bonds. It can be said to have existed between political authority, which has exerted pressure on it, and those who have criticized it as a "government-controlled" one or as one "within the established institutions." Even while it has been publishing newspaper pages according to the given guidelines, it has not given

up its job-related fate of resisting these guidelines. Who else has yearned for freedom of the press more ardently than the journalists themselves?

We think that in addition to the Basic Press Law being abolished, the current press structure, which has existed since 1980, must be dismantled or reorganized. The measure to reorganize the press, which was taken on no legal grounds but only in the name of the "autonomous decision of the Press Association," must be revoked to keep abreast of the new era.

We believe that the government's control over the press by using "press guidelines" and the "Office of Policy on Public Information," which have meddled in operations in the form of an "invisible custom," must be duly abolished.

Nevertheless, we do not mean that the press will enjoy absolute freedom, freeing itself from all forms of control, just like it does in a state of anarchy. In a sense, today's press, which is preparing itself for the era of democratization, is also preparing itself for freedom and autonomy, and is even afraid of them.

Some people are worried over the counteractive, evil practices of some small-sized press organizations that may emerge, just like they did right after the 19 April student movement. However, the people's sense of democracy has grown and the middle class has broadened. Likewise, our press has been much technologically developed in terms of its management and production.

A greater trend must not be reversed for fear of a temporary confusion and counteractiveness. A certain degree of pain may be inevitable until a new order is established in the press based upon the principles of democracy and autonomy.

However, past national crises were largely caused by the lack of freedom of the press. Therefore, we think that the attitude of enduring confusion and waiting for a certain period of time to see what will occur is necessary. If Korea's press is given autonomy, it can give up the habit of uniform production and can contribute to soothing social discord by reflecting various desires.

Therefore, we think it natural that press organizations decide on sending their reporters to local provinces and that the principle of allowing only one local newspaper in a province and of allowing only one news agency in the country be reconsidered.

If it is given freedom and autonomy, the press, more fully perceiving its social responsibility, must make efforts to nurture capabilities to lead the era of democratization. This is because the press must learn by itself the principle that genuine freedom will be given only to those who are qualified for it.

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## SEOUL SINMUN ON ELIMINATING USE OF SLOGANS

SK170052 Seoul SEOUL SINMUN in Korean 16 Jul 87 p 2

[Editorial: "The Notion That Chanting and Flaunting Slogans Is Everything Must Be Liquidated"]

[Text] The facade of the RDP Headquarters building, which the RDP got after a long time and which is decorated with colored tapes, looks like a shaman's house because it is also covered with placards on which all sorts of slogans are written. The building has also become a permanent sit-in site into which demonstrators flood every day.

A press conference that the party president had been planning to hold for some time was suspended because family members of detainees stormed in to hinder it. Even some residents whose houses are scheduled to be removed are staging a sit-in there. This is a situation in which the front-runners who are expected to pursue a greater democracy are fettered by those who demand "a minor democracy."

We can also witness such scenes elsewhere. Political demonstrations have disappeared since the "29 June Declaration." However, collective actions to demand the reinstatement of laid-off workers, the release of detainees, wage increases and the resolution of other petitions and complaints are rampant. This has greatly worried us. There were 66 labor disputes during the first half of July, an increase of more than 18 times.

The demonstrators coin slogans so that their demands will be concentrated in these slogans. They stage such demonstrations to make their slogans heard with the help of the collective voice. Therefore, these slogans are simply heard in the form of short screams that are not sententially structured. Short screams are incomprehensible.

For a long time we have inevitably resorted to short piercing screams in an effort to break through the solid out layer of the rigid society. We must not fall into the habit of pouring fourth piercing screams. If we only throw daggers at those who have taken off their armor, we cannot expect problems to be solved.

First of all, dialogue cannot take place in the face of slogans. Dialogue means exchanging words among people who use grammatical language. However,

because they consist of incomprehensible screams, slogans cannot be used in engaging in debates and persuading other people. If we only shout slogans, our reason may be seared and, as a result, our ability to engage with reason in a logical argument may be degenerated and our ability to explain problems in detail may be gradually diminished.

Democracy cannot be achieved without the processes of engaging in debates and reaching an agreement. With slogans, however we cannot display the beautiful appearances of democracy--persuasion and acceptance. This is why slogans are rampant in authoritarian societies. These authoritarian societies manipulate the masses [chiptan] by using the agitative function of slogans.

Now is the time to talk after giving up the thought that chanting and flaunting slogans is everything. To do so, we must become not only good "speakers" but also good "listeners." Speaking well and listening well are the most powerful weapons of all. If we continue to use the same voice pitch that we used in talking to the bigots who did not care to listen, the listeners may again plug their ears.

The role of the symbolic Godfathers of democratization, whom people come to see as if they were rushing to trouble-shooters, is also important. The attitude of rather apologizing to a rioting group that stormed into a place where the president of a public party who must enjoy confidence was holding a press conference signals the difficult days ahead. The same logic can be applied to religious forces. To smoothly lead the implementation of the schedule for democratization, which seems to be difficult, efforts and courage to stand on one's own feet is necessary.

Today, all media are open wider than ever before. At this juncture, if we make efforts to refer all problems to discussion--a function of media--by using these media, we can attain successful results. Now is the time to liquidate the era of slogans.

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## SEOUL DAILY ON ECONOMY-RELATED PROVISIONS OF CONSTITUTION

SK260103 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 26 Jul 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Economic Democratization"]

[Text] Divergent views are being expressed over the economy-related provisions to be stipulated in the projected constitutional amendment, the focus of the debate being placed on the harmony and combination of economic efficiency and social justice.

In fact, during the past 2 decades of the nation's high economic growth, business efficiency has been overly stressed, resulting in an concentration of economic power in big business groups and the problem of fair income distribution and labor-management disputes.

Accordingly, a joint policy recommendation made last by five major economic organizations has drawn public attention because of its call for reduced government intervention in private economic activity and support for the cause of a free enterprise system and private-led economy.

The organizations, primarily representing employers' interests, argued in the recommendation that, though basic labor rights--the freedom to associate, organize and engage in collective action--should be guaranteed in the new constitution, the right to collective action should partially be restricted. They were particularly opposed to inclusion of workers' demands for participation in corporate management.

Constant dialogue and fair accommodation between labor and management are indeed vital to the promotion of industrial peace and productivity for the benefit of both parties. Ample lessons can be taken from past experience that no enterprise is able to prosper while ill-treating its employees and causing labor troubles.

In light of the prevailing trend and precedents in foreign countries, it is deemed premature to include explicit constitutional provisions on labor's participation in corporate management and "balanced" sharing of business gains. Yet, positive and substantive steps must be taken in the interest of workers, including the guarantee of decent wages, various welfare programs and the elimination of discriminative treatment against manual and female workers.

Meanwhile, restriction on collective action by labor unions, if inevitable, should be limited to the minimal extend possible: Namely, to energy defense and crucial portions of the transportation and communications industries, in addition to the public service.

## 95 KILLED, 32 MISSING IN LANDSLIDES, FLOODS

SK230736 Seoul YONHAP in English 0718 GMT 23 Jul 87

[Text] Seoul, July 23 (YONHAP)--At least 95 people were killed and 32 others missing in landslides and floods triggered by heavy rainstorms that pounded central South Korea from late Tuesday night to early Thursday, the Central Disaster Relief Center reported Thursday.

As of 10 am (0000 GMT), 98 people were reported dead or missing in South Chungchong Province hit the hardest by the downpours. The victims included six dead or missing in Kangwon Province and two others in North Chungchong Province.

Heavy seasonal rainstorms that dumped up to 26 inches of rain during the past 3 days destroyed 1,481 houses and buildings, leaving 40,000 people homeless.

Relief center officials said that roads, railroad tracks, reservoirs, and embankments were washed out by the torrential rains, while some 65,700 hectares of farmland were inundated.

A preliminary estimate of property damage stood at 17.72 billion won (\$21.88 million: \$1 is worth about 810 won). South Chungchong Province suffered the most with damage estimated at 11.37 billion won, followed by North Chungchong Province (3.37 billion won) and Kangwon Province (2.03 billion won).

In South Chungchong Province, the Kum River's upper tributaries overflowed, forcing thousands of people in downstream areas to evacuate to higher ground.

Some 6,950 residents of 1,540 families in the towns of Sochun, Puyo and Nonsan took shelter in churches, schools, and other public facilities. Relief goods were dropped from helicopters.

Military helicopters were called out to rescue survivors trapped by the swollen downstream current of the Kum River. Helicopters rescued some 400 residents in the Sochun-Puyo area.

Railroad tracks collapsed at 55 locations, causing the suspension or limited operation of train service from Seoul to the southern and western provinces passing through the flood-stricken region.

About 112 people were injured Wednesday when a train carrying 650 passengers derailed in Chongwon, about 142 kilometers south of Seoul. The train ran off the track which had been crumpled by a landslide.

## NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR TO KOREA, POSSIBLE POLICY CHANGES VIEWED

Seoul WOLGAN KYONGHYANG in Korean May 87 pp 148-159

[Article by Kang Song-po: "An Interview With Ambassador Lilley"]

[Excerpts] What could be the significance of the "U.S. variable" on Korean politics? The two countries have maintained their relationship, which began as a blood-pledge relationship, with varying degrees, through important crises. Under such circumstances, the U.S. embassy plays the role of field headquarters. The commander of the headquarters is now Ambassador Lilley, who is newly appointed. What kind of man is he? Let's take another look at the depth of the Korean-U.S. relationship now centered on Ambassador Lilley.

## Lessons from the Philippines

Despite the rapidly approaching transition point that could leave a significant mark in the history of Korean politics, the government and the opposition are increasingly adopting a firm attitude toward each other. Under such circumstances, it seems inevitable to pay attention to U.S. policies toward Korea.

This is because the power of the United States has been widely recognized, although no inquiries have ever been made as to how significant American influence has been, or whether American is capable of such power during this upheaval in Korean politics.

Someone might attempt to find circumstantial evidence of potential U.S. influence on its allied nations that are politically unstable, something similar to that of the Philippine revolution in February of last year.

In fact, world attention turned to Korea immediately after the Philippine incident. There was even wild speculation on "a sequel to the Philippine drama" in Korea. However many such speculations disappeared as it was confirmed that a large number of the Korean population, as a result of the remarkable success in the growth of the Korean economy, wanted stability.

Of course, lack of such speculation could be the result of a scornful perception expressed in a high-ranking U.S. official's speech: "Unlike the Philippines, there is no history of democracy in Korea. Thus a Philippine-style yellow revolution is impossible in Korea."



Nevertheless, some people in the opposition circle seem to be hoping that the United States will provide some leverage for democratization in Korea.

In March, when Mr Kim Tae-chung was interviewed just before U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was to visit Korea, he said: "I hope Secretary Shultz will mention three items when he meets with President Chon Tu-hwan."

The three items are as follows" first, America wants Korea to respect human rights in accordance with international and domestic laws on human rights; second, Korean military circles should remain neutral in political matters; and third, the Korean Government should allow a direct national referendum so that people can choose the political system they want. In response to this, a high-ranking U.S. official stationed in Korea said: "Mr Kim Tae-chung seems to believe that we will side with the opposition party at a climactic moment just as we did in the Philippines. But we cannot help telling him that the present conditions in Korea are far different from the Philippine situation."

After Secretary Shultz left Seoul, Mr Kim Tae-chung let loose with his complaints, saying: "America does not quite understand the hopes of the Korean people."

#### "Qualitative" Changes in U.S. Policies to Korea

Frequently, people suspect that American policies toward Korea have changed recently. In other words, when it comes to forecasting the political situation after February 1988, at which time President Chon's term expires, people tend to believe that America is increasingly leaning toward the opposition party. The following reasons can be cited:

First of all, there are frequent meetings between the U.S. ambassador to Korea and members of the opposition parties. Unlike former Ambassador Walker, the newly appointed Ambassador James Lilley has met with such opposition personnel as NKDP director Yi Min-u, the real opposition leader Kim Young-sam, and Cardinal Kim Su-hwan, and he plans to meet with Mr Kim Tae-chung, too.

Second, there was a speech by Mr Gaston Sigur, assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific, at the New York Korean-American Committee in February. In his speech, Mr Sigur stressed the civilian democratization of Korean politics.

Third, the U.S. State Department has shown a positive attitude in criticizing the conditions of Korean human rights. At the time of Pak Chong-chol incident in January, a spokesman at the State Department issued a "sharp" comment, which was unprecedented.

Fourth, at various U.S. Congressional hearings, high-ranking U.S. officials usually say: "Democratization is good for security." In March, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage said: "Korea and America are in the process of beginning a new cooperative relationship in security matters."

In addition, frequent passage of U.S. Senate resolutions relating to human rights in Korea supports the above beliefs.

High-ranking U.S. officials in Seoul acknowledge certain "methodological" changes, but they insist these changes are not substantive but qualitative. Although it is hard to grasp the precise meaning of these terms, concerned authorities believe that such a statement means a new change is being made to the extent the basic Korean-American friendship and the existing benefits remain intact.

It is a well-known fact that America is enjoying vast benefits from Korea, ranging from national security to the economy. (Of course, America also benefits Korea.) According to U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger, the importance of Korea, in terms of the global strategy of the United States has been recently raised from that of a major interest to a vital interest.

But the point is that the American viewpoint about Korea is gradually shifting from the usual government-centered point to a multilateral view of the general public. Public analysis of American interests in Korea has revealed various facts, such as some of those discovered during the Korean-American trade friction. It has also revealed that the concept of security concerning the Korean Peninsula is not only for Korea but is also in line with the American strategy for defense of the Pacific region. These facts awakened the Korean people to the reality that a certain number of profit-seeking conflicts do exist even between friendly nations.

As a result, even anti-Americanism sentiment was born, in which some people blamed America for such Korean tragedies as the Kwangju incident.

The image of the good old "Uncle Sam," who gave us food and taught us democracy 40 years ago, disappeared long ago. Also gone are the times when most problems between Korea and America could be resolved simply by the authorities in Washington, D.C., and Seoul. Thus, America could not help carrying out a more realistic and popular diplomacy, which ultimately might have caused "qualitative" changes in American policies to Korea.

In particular, Americans recognize that another round of political unrest in Korea not only will cause a tragedy in Korea but could also inflict a significant damage to America.

#### Significance of Assistant Secretary Sigur's Speech

In his speech in Honolulu on 29 October 1986 at a conference of Advisory Committee for Pacific/Asian Problems, Assistant Secretary of State Gaston Sigur said: "We encourage the democratic system not only for moral and ideological reasons but because our experience has taught us that democracy is the best prescription for political and economic stability in the developing countries."

Of course, he added: "America intends neither to interfere with domestic problems of Asian countries nor to direct their policy decisions. And it never

will." He added: "A transition to democracy is usually both complicated and subtle. And it can be carried out only through methods appropriate to the country's history, culture, and political realities."

Answers to how such a theoretical method can be applied to reality and what effect such a method could have on the conditions of the country in subject. In the case of Korea, if both the government and the opposition could successfully devise a joint revision of constitution, and if a new government could be established based on a national referendum, we need not listen to Americans for such advice.

A high-ranking American official in Seoul said: "In terms of the political situation in Korea, what America is really concerned about is that the political parties in Korea are unable to reach a mutual concession and that they ask America to provide 'solutions.'" He said clearly: "But America has no solutions either."

A more complete and declaratory expression of American policy to Korean is heard at a speech by Assistant Secretary Sigur at the New York Korean-American Committee.

The position of the assistant secretary of state is equivalent to that of a bureau director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Korea, but most of the American policies that affect Korea are decided in the office of Assistant Secretary Sigur. The amount of time spent on Korean issues by Secretary Shultz, who deals with more than 150 countries in the world, is far less than what we think it might be.

Nevertheless, it was later said that the speech at the New York Korean-American Committee required approval by Secretary Shultz.

In his speech, Assistant Secretary Sigur urged a "creative method" aimed at a mutual concession between the political parties, while frankly suggesting a few of the core problems in political changes in Korea.

First of all, he mentioned tasks for a "civilian democratization" of Korean politics. He stressed: "Ever since the Korean war destroyed much of the civilian sector, the Korean military has served as one of the few important organizations that possess experience in managing a large, modern organization.... Today's Korean soldiers live in a new society where Korean people expect soldiers to devote themselves to their most important duty, which is to train themselves in the techniques needed to defend their country."

Then, he praised President Chon Tu-hwan desire for a peaceful transition of political power, while urging the opposition circle to "set aside personal ambitions and past criticism and complaint, and cooperate with each other for the future."

In conclusion, he said: "The United States has a firm commitment to protect Korea, and such a commitment will remain unchanged even if the U.S. Congress or the administration changes. At the same time, we will support South Korean efforts to reduce tensions with North Korea."

## Korean Authorities in the U.S. Department of State

Since the speech by Assistant Secretary Sigur, the United States has relaxed its restrictions on meetings between its diplomats and North Korean diplomats, while proposing trade in medical supplies and food with North Korea. This could indicate something of importance.

Rumor has it that Assistant Secretary Sigur's speech was drafted by his longtime colleague, Professor Kim Young-jin, who is a Korean-American. Professor Kim had worked with ex-academic Assistant Secretary Sigur, who served as research director of the Sino-Soviet Affairs Department at George Washington University. It is said that Professor Kim, who coauthored "Asian Policies of Japan and America," still works as an adviser to Assistant Secretary Sigur's policy planning staff and that he sometimes works as a messenger on non-publicized policies.

Especially noteworthy was Deputy Assistant Secretary Clark's speech and behavior during his visit to Korea in November last year. Speaking of Korean politics, regarding constitutional revision, he is said to have mentioned several times that America will try to help establish a "middle ground."

Although the precise meaning of the term is still unknown, some people think it might be related to the creative method mentioned in Assistant Secretary Sigur's speech.

Some people also try to relate the term with NKDP Director Yi Min-u's democratization-first principle.

It could be said that field headquarters that actually carries out American policies to Korea is the U.S. Embassy to Korea. The commander of the headquarters, of course, is the U.S. ambassador to Korea.

The 13th ambassador to Korea, James Lilley, who was appointed on 14 November 1986 after Ambassador Walker's departure, plays a relatively important role, compared with his predecessors, in that Korean politics is now approaching a turning point in its history.

### Significance of "Conversational Diplomacy"

Ambassador Lilley's first 5 months certainly proved different from former Ambassador Walker's "quiet diplomacy." Either privately or during his inaugural address, Ambassador Lilley met with a broad range of people, including government ministers, government and opposition politicians, academics, journalists, and people in business circles. He even met with the chief editors of college newspapers and listened to them.

The most attention-gathering event of Ambassador Lilley's achievements thus far was his meeting with Mr Kim Young-sam is now at the forefront of politics as a leader of his newly created party, he was then merely a power holder in the opposition circle, which made it difficult for the U.S. ambassador to meet with him officially. Thus, the meeting between the U.S. ambassador and Mr Kim was itself an exceptional event.

The Kim-Lilley conference, which was held at Deputy Chief of Mission Lambertson's official residence, where only American interpreters were allowed, lasted 2 hours and 10 minutes. Of course, details of the meeting have not been disclosed.

Although this meeting was less honorable compared with Ambassador Lilley's meeting with NKDP Director Yi Min-u, which was held at the ambassador's official residence one day earlier, it is believed that fairly serious talks must have taken place.

Besides, Ambassador Lilley met frequently with former politicians of the government circle such as the former chairman of the DJP Kim Chong-pil and with people in religious circles such as Cardinal Kim Su-hwan.

Ambassador Lilley is reportedly planning to meet with Mr Kim Tai-chung, too. Rumors of their planned meeting have been circulating since the middle of February, but the meeting has reportedly been delayed because of a disagreement on location.

The U.S. embassy officials suggested a Kim-Lilley meeting at Deputy Chief of mission Lambertson's residence on 24 March in the form of Mr Lambertson's invitation, but Mr Kim Tai-Chung's side refused based on "status" issues, saying: "I had an important private meeting at the U.S. ambassador's official residence even under martian law in 1979."

However, when foreign news agencies quoted Assistant Secretary Sigur's speech as saying, "Mr Kim Tae-chung refuses to talk" because of location issues, a close associate of Mr Kim's looked displeased and said: "When did we refuse to talk?" And he said: "Since a meeting place is an issue of status, America should respect mutual formalities if it wants to study openly the real conditions of Korean politics." And he proposed Mr Kim's private residence, Ambassador Lilley's official residence, and a third location as a possible meeting place.

Aside from very basic stories, none of the details of the meetings between Ambassador Lilley and the opposition members is known. For example, at his dinner meeting with NKDP "My conception of democratization is in no way influenced by the cabinet system, and the NKDP's opinion on direct presidential election remains the same." And Ambassador Lilley reportedly said: "Director Yi's idea is right, but I don't understand why it is not accepted. I think America is in no position to interfere with democratization of Korea, which should be accomplished by Koreans themselves."

#### Measuring the Anti-American Sentiment

In relation with Ambassador Lilley's meeting with members of the opposition circle, THE ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL had an interesting article in its issue of 4 March.

According to the newspaper's report, which quoted high-ranking U.S. officials in Seoul, Ambassador Lilley urged the opposition members to "recognize the reality that the present government holds all the winning cards in this game (of constitutional revision)." In addition, Ambassador Lilley reportedly advised: "The present government is too strong for you to seize political power by force.

Neither can you expect the present government to hand over its power. Thus, in order to avoid a collapse of the whole system, you will have to take a compromise position and just wait until your time comes."

Such a plain expression that contains no florid languages could represent America's openhearted position toward Korean politics. In fact, America might not really understand why the government and the opposition circles in Korea always run to the extremes where no solutions can be found. The traditional climate and logic still remain in full force in Korea, where American-style rationalism cannot be fully accepted.

Officials at the U.S. Embassy say that the purpose of meetings between Ambassador Lilley and Koreans from all walks of life is to "gain an opportunity to convey our thoughts to them accurately while at the same listening to Koreans for their opinions on America and on Korean politics." It seems that part of the purpose is also to divert the anti-American feelings that exist among some radical students, which were confirmed during the incident in which the U.S. Information Office was seized.

Ambassador Lilley, who describes himself as an optimist, once commented lightly: "Anti-American feelings exist everywhere in the world." But it can be easily confirmed that a major part of his mission from Washington is to measure the depth of anti-American sentiment and to prevent its spread. It was also noticeable that officials of the U.S. Embassy have suddenly become busy since Ambassador Lilley's arrival.

Almost everyday, since the end of last year, the USIS has sponsored "private dinner meetings" between American officials and college professors, researchers, and college students. Reportedly, Ambassador Lilley usually attends these meetings, too.

In particular, at "night meetings," which took place at the residences of Deputy Chief of Mission Lambertson Public Affairs Office Deputy PAD Burleson, and political Councilor Dunlop, the invited Koreans were asked to keep quiet about details of the conversations. Ambassador Lilley did not always attend these night meetings, but he reportedly attended most of the meetings, that included students.

#### Dispute between Embassy and College Students

The U.S. embassy regularly sponsors a meeting every semester, and it invited the chief editors of college gazettes from 23 universities in Seoul on 15 January. But for the first time, the ambassador attended this meeting. Ambassador Lilley just listened most of the time, while USIS PAD Reid and Councilor Dunlop answered questions. It is said that details of the conversation consisted mostly of gauging the depth of the students' anti-American feelings and explanations from the American side.

According to student who attended the meeting, when students said, "America is responsible for the political illnesses in Korea, and the voice of 'Yankee, Go Home!' on campus is very strong," the embassy officials bluntly responded:

"Koreans deflect their frustrations toward America because their political situation has come to a deadlock." Also, the student introduced his own version of a highly delightful story. He said: "When a chief editor of a gazette, who is an economics major, said that the pressure on the Copyright Act issue is not even in his economics textbooks, an American official responded that there must be a difference between Korean economics and American economics. But the Americans were dejected when economics students asked whether Adam Smith and Keynes were Koreans." According to those who attended the meeting, the American answers were usually off the point, and the American officials tried to avoid difficult questions. Ambassador Lilley reportedly left the meeting in the middle of a dispute.

The U.S. Embassy meetings with professors sometimes consisted of only those who have studied abroad in America, and sometimes consisted of only the purely domestic professors. Sometimes the invitation was based on ages and major subjects of interest, and sometimes the invitation was given regardless of such categories.

It was reported that the younger professors' interests were similar to the students' and that the younger professors sometimes raised harsh questions that threw the American side into confusion.

One professor said: "The person who takes a neutral position when there is a confrontation between the strong and the weak is, in fact, helping the strong." Since such a speech seemed to imply a hope that America would intervene in Korean Politics, the speaker was reportedly frowned upon. Most of the professors at the meeting seemed to be irritated by the meaningless discussions and the repetitious assertion of the American position.

According to a professor, the embassy officials said Koreans must decide the fate of Korea, and they kept asking what the professors thought the United States could do to help Korea.

The professor said: "Since I feel that they only want to steal our thoughts without revealing their own intentions, I no longer intend to participate in the meeting."

A USIS official hinted that the frequency of Ambassador Lilley's nightly meetings has recently slackened.

It means that Ambassador Lilley has gained a fairly good grasp of the real conditions in Korea through his concentrated meetings with Koreans over the period of 3-4 months. With that much understanding, he held his first press interview on 9 April.

#### Ambassador Lilley's First Press Interview Since His Arrival

At the domestic news conference, Ambassador Lilley, who had evaded requests for press interviews for various reasons, was careful about domestic affairs in Korea, but in general he provided clear answers with confidence.

When asked about his busy schedule of meetings with Koreans and about the existence of any American programs for Korean politics, he said: "Believe it or not, American policies toward Korea remain the same. There is no difference between official American statements and what's in their minds. First, we are committed to peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula, and second, we believe in free elections, democracy, and greater freedom of speech. In accordance with my assignments based on such policies, I am only keeping in a touch with a wide range of Koreans. I have no secret mission."

When asked about the present conditions of Korean politics, he reminded us that his old friend Assistant Secretary Sigur's speech at the New York Korean-American Committee represents the basic American position. And he said: "I am aware of the criticism that American officials tend to preach Korean affairs as if they were ministers, but we only speak as a friend who does not interfere directly with the political process. Violence and stubborn confrontations are undesirable for political progress."

In particular, when asked about the meaning of civilian democratization, which is producing a sharp reaction in political circles, he quoted Assistant Secretary Sigur's words, "Korea has now reached the age of civilian democratization." And he stressed: "But what we wanted to say was about an American experience. It is your job to learn from this experience and make it work."

When asked about countermeasures and the possibility of catastrophic events in case negotiations for constitutional revision fail, he displayed optimism, saying: "What could go wrong for the energetic people who flourished after rising against colonial rule and the devastating Korean war? Koreans in various fields have demonstrated a world-class quality. I don't think they will fail at all."

When asked, at last, why he has not met with Mr Kim Tac-chung, Ambassador Lilley said: "When the British Prime Minister Thatcher visited Russia, she met first with opposition member Dr Sahkarov, and then the next day she met with General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Gorbachev. What's the bid deal in it?"

During the press interview on 7 April, Ambassador Lilley said his family and brothers had once lived in Pyongyang in the 1930's, stressing his longtime relation with Korea.

Ambassador Lilley, who worked as a private citizen for about 3 years, including his duty as an aide to candidate Bush, returned to the government in 1981 as a specialist in East Asian affairs at the NSC of the White House, and worked as American liaison stationed in Taiwan for the period 1982-84. When he returned to the United States in 1984, he worked briefly as a consultant to the Otis Elevator Company and the Westinghouse Company. Then he returned to the Department of Defense as a consultant on international security. Since he was reassigned as the State Department's deputy assistant secretary for East Asia and the Pacific, Ambassador Lilley worked on issues concerning China, Australia, and New Zealand.



Ambassador Lilley studied Chinese classics after receiving a master's degree from Yale University in 1951, and he briefly lectured on Chinese economics at Johns Hopkins University in 1979.

Korea is his first assignment as ambassador. Handsome Ambassador Lilley, who is more than 6 feet tall, usually has a great sense of humor, and is fond of discussion, says an American professor who knows him well.

Since the end of 1985, when rumors started circulating regarding possible replacement of the U.S. ambassador to Korea, Mr Lilley and the present ambassador to Burma, Daniel O'Donoghue, consistently rose in popularity. It was later reported that at the end of July of last year, at the final stage of the selection process, wherein the Korean Government's agreement was requested for the appointment of a new ambassador, Ambassador Lilley was selected.

It is said that America has never consumed so much time to pick a U.S. ambassador to Korea in the whole process from selection of potential candidates to Senate confirmation.

During the Senate hearing, just before Ambassador Lilley was appointed, he said: "It would be premature for me to speak of what I would do. The activities of my past will speak for what I'll do in the future." Thus, he stated frankly that his commitment to human rights remains unchanged. However, he said subsequently: "I don't think the Senate resolution that links military aid with the extension of human rights in Korea is an effective solution." He contended: "Our interest in security of the Korean Peninsula and the political development of Korea are separate issues."

Based on such relatively realistic thinking, it is expected that the severity of discord between the Korean Government and the U.S. ambassador will lessen during Ambassador Lilley's term.

It's just that "only the time ticks away as usual" while difficult questions abound between Korea and America. Under such circumstances, we can logically conclude that Ambassador Lilley's "hope to work in Korea for a long time" could be easily upset.

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## DAILY URGES PRUDENT APPROACH TO NORTH KOREA BY JAPAN

SK290636 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 27 Jul 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Japan's 'Overspeed' Diplomacy--Its Approach to North Korea"]

[Text] Pyongyang has recently started to court the LDP, Japan's conservative ruling party, while sending a peace overture to us.

Ho Tam, one of the high-ranking North Korean leaders who handles foreign affairs, has stated that North Korea would welcome the LDP leaders' visit, if the Japanese Government improves its policy on North Korea. At the same time, North Korea has decided to allow some Japanese to visit North Korea and Japanese family members to meet one another.

These North Korean moves are being made now, as South Korea seeks democratization via a political transition and unfailingly prepares for the 1988 Seoul Olympiad.

Of course, we have no objection if Pyongyang and Tokyo improve their relations for the common international interests of this region based on the good-neighbor spirit of peace. However, we must never fail to realize the North's prime objective is to isolate South Korea and disturb our democratization and Olympiad.

We expect Japan to be even more prudent in renewing its relations with Pyongyang. This is because the question, beyond the short-term interest of Japan, is directly linked with the peace and stability of East Asia and with the question of our unification.

We cannot but note that Japan's relations with North Korea have frequently disrupted our fundamental policy and that this has created stumbling blocks to improving North-South relations.

We believe that Japan has not forgotten that most of the espionage and military equipment North Korea used in its infiltration and provocations against the South were Japanese products.

Today, through a positive initiative taken by Gorbachev, changes are being made in the northern triangular relations and this has begun to affect southern relations. The three southern countries, however, have worked out no specific countermeasures.

Meanwhile, South Korea, too, is seeking to resume dialogue with North Korea and improve its relations with China and the Soviet Union. It is making multifaceted efforts to improve the international order in this region.

During this period of flux, if Japan desires to readjust its relations with North Korea, it should seek it by considering overall relations between the three southern countries and the three northern countries.

Japan must know that it will seriously disturb the international order in this region if it unilaterally outstrips our policy toward the North and the pace and level of the Moscow and Beijing policy toward South Korea.

In particular, Japan must approach the East Asian question by always remembering that the national division and civil wars the East Asian confucian countries such as Korea, China, and Vietnam have suffered have resulted from Japan's historic crimes.

Japan is expected to keep step with the U.S. approach in its policy on the Korean peninsula. The United States has never failed to first consult with the South Korean Government and has never unilaterally gone ahead of it. We are convinced that this is the best joint strategy for the stability of this region, as well as for settlement of the North-South question.

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## NODONG SINMUN MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF KIM CHONG-IL'S WORK

SK161056 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1038 GMT 16 Jul 87

[Text] Pyongyang 16 July (KCNA)--NODONG SINMUN today dedicates an editorial headlined "Let Us Bring About A New Turn In Chuche Idea Education Upholding Party's Idea And Theory" on the occasion of the first anniversary of the publication of dear Comrade Kim Chong-il's work "On Some Problems Of Education In The Chuche Idea" (15 July 1986).

The editorial says:

In his work dear Comrade Kim Chong-il, on the basis of profound analysis of the present situation of our party's ideological education and the requirements of our revolutionary development, newly clarified the principles of the chuche idea and provided highly important guidelines for deepening the chuche idea education. The work gives a profound exposition of the greatness and truth of the chuche idea and develops and enriches its principles. It is a highly important work which will serve as a basic guideline for the party members and other working people in equipping themselves solidly with the chuche idea.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, and secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, points out:

"Equipping the party members and other working people solidly with the chuche idea is now vital to our party.,"

In his work dear Comrade Kim Chong-il underscores the need to carry on the ideological education of all forms in close combination with the principles of the chuche idea, holding fast to the chuche idea education as the monolithic ideological education of our party.

By clarifying that our party's ideological education of all forms is the chuche idea education, the work renders it possible to carry on ideological education at a new high level on the principles of chuche and makes the chuche idea prevail in the whole party and the whole society more thoroughly. This is an epochal occasion to effect a new turn in the ideological education of our party.

The work formulates the subject of the revolution as the integrated whole of the leader, the party and the masses and profoundly clarifies the principles of chuche on socio-political organism.

The work elucidates new principles on revolutionary outlook on the leader and revolutionary outlook on life on the basis of the new exposition of the collectivist viewpoint on life that the life of a social-political community is the parent body of the life of individuals.

The work, along with the work "on the church idea," shines as a monumental work which remarkably enriched the treasure house of the chuche idea and broke a new ground in the development of working class revolutionary idea.

Referring to the great theoretical and practical significance of the work in our party and revolutionary development, the editorial goes on:

By verifying that the great chuche idea is the revolutionary doctrine which most scientifically indicates the road to human emancipation, the work helps the popular masses accelerate the cause of chajusong with the chuche idea as the only guiding principle.

By giving a unique exposition of the subject of revolution with the leader as the center, the work also helps firmly establish a revolutionary outlook on the leader and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the leader, the party and the masses.

The work teaches the party members and working people that they can add lustre to their lofty socio-political lives and enjoy the worth of true human life and happiness only when they devote themselves to the common cause of realising chajusong, rallied close around the party and the leader with revolutionary obligation and comradeship. Herein lies the tremendous significance of the work.

The work is the shining fruition of the extraordinary ideological and theoretical activities of dear Comrade Kim Chong-il, stresses the editorial.

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CSO: 4100/0290

## KULLOJA ON NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, NEGOTIATIONS

SK031200 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean No 2, Feb 87 pp 87-91

[Article by Chon Kum-chin: "Dialogue and Negotiations Are the Important Ways To Improve North-South Relations and Create a Favorable Phase for the Fatherland's Reunification"]

[Text] The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, by reaffirming the fundamental stand and principles which the government of the Republic invariably has maintained for the fatherland's reunification, in his historic policy speech "For the Complete Victory of Socialism" at the First Session of the Eighth SPA comprehensively elucidated the pending problem of the fatherland's reunification and the problem of its final solution.

On the basis of his scientific analysis of the prevailing situation, the great leader put forth in his policy speech as an urgent measure for peace in the country and peaceful reunification the important proposal for high-level North-South political and military talks.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's new proposal for high-level North-South political and military talks is an epochal nation-saving measure which makes it possible to open a breakthrough for peace in the country and peaceful reunification, and is the most rational and realistic proposal for the fatherland's reunification reflecting the urgent demand of the prevailing situation and the opinion of the entire nation. Thanks to the great leader's proposal for high-level North-South political and military talks, a milestone has been established to overcome the great difficulties on the road to the fatherland's reunification and accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and a tool of struggle has been provided to vigorously encourage the entire nation to the path of national salvation and reunification.

The new proposal which the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song put forth for the fatherland's reunification reflects the firm stand and will of our party and the government of the republic to settle the question of the reunification of the country through dialogue and negotiations.

In our country, an important way to improve North-South relations and create a favorable phase of the reunification of the fatherland is to open a broad path for North-South dialogue and negotiations.

Our nation is a homogeneous nation which has maintained a single lineage on the same soil.

It was because of the foreign force's maneuvers of aggression, intervention, division, and alienation that our nation, which had lived happily and harmoniously generation after generation throughout the history of 5,000 years, has been divided and the question of the fatherland's reunification has arisen. Accordingly, the question of our country's reunification is one to recover the state of the single nation and territory and achieve national sovereignty as a whole, and is once to eliminate the distrust and misunderstanding between the North and South and achieve grand national unity.

The question of the fatherland's reunification--the great cause of the nation--cannot be settled through war. It must be settled on the basis of the principle of achieving grand national unity peacefully through dialogue and negotiations.

Furthermore, under circumstances in which the North and South have different ideologies and systems and the gap between them is great, if each side absolutizes its own ideology and system and if one turns away from dialogue and negotiations and indulges in confrontation, North-South relations can never be improved and a new phase cannot be created for the fatherland's reunification. This will only aggravate the distrust and confrontation between the North and South, deepen the division of the nation, bring about armed clash, and make the fatherland's reunification even more distant. This shows that only North-South dialogue and negotiations are the most adequate way to eliminate national discord and confrontation created by the policy of confrontation sought by the persons in authority in South Korea, achieve national harmony and unity, improve North-South relations, and create a favorable phase for the fatherland's reunification.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's proposal for high-level North-South political and military talks is a timely and positive step to effect a decisive turn in North-South relations and create an epochal phase on the road to the fatherland's reunification through new dialogue and negotiations.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: To solve the urgent problem which preferentially arises for the fatherland's reunification, we think it is necessary to hold high-level North-South political and military talks. ("For the Complete Victory of Socialism," p 30)

The proposal to discuss measures to eliminate the most urgent state of political and military confrontation by holding high-level North-South political and military talks is a shortcut to overcoming difficulties on the road to the fatherland's reunification and opening a new breakthrough for peace in the country and peaceful reunification.

High-level North-South political and military talks are, above all, an epochal way to decisively improve North-South relations by eliminating the distrust and misunderstanding between the North and South and alleviating tension.

Today, what divides our single nation and territory into the North and South is the sentiment of mutual distrust and confrontation. This sentiment is a deeply rooted one which has grown over a long period of time, and is now becoming even more acute, which can never be seen even between hostile countries,

The cause of the present distrust and confrontation between the North and South is, after all, the state of political confrontation and military tension.

Therefore, to eliminate the sentiment of distrust and confrontation and basically improve North-South relations, the obstacles--the state of political confrontation and military tension--must be eliminated.

Precisely, the proposal for high-level North-South political and military talks is the realistic and rational way to eliminate the state of political and military confrontation which increases distrust and confrontation between the North and South and aggravates situations,

This proposal will help discuss the questions to halt defamation and slander between the North and South, realize collaboration and exchanges in many fields, and seek national unity. By so doing, it will help liquidate the state of political confrontation between the North and South and eliminate the state of military confrontation by helping discuss and solve the problems to halt the military buildup and arms race, turn the DMZ into a peace zone, and halt large-scale military exercises.

In particular, enhancing the authority of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, establishing neutral nations supervisory forces, and having them monitor the military activities of the two sides on the Military Demarcation Line and the DMZ are an effective way to fairly seek the work of eliminating military tension and preventing a military clash.

The proposal for high-level North-South political and military talks is also a positive step of dialogue to help dialogue in various ways by resuming and normalizing the suspended multisided dialogue.

To improve North-South relations and create a favorable phase for the fatherland's reunification through dialogue and negotiation, political confrontation must not be fomented, and military confrontation must not be intensified.

The historic experience in the North-South dialogue of the past has left a serious lesson that, when political and military confrontation is aggravated, successful progress cannot be made in dialogue and the destiny of ruination is inevitable.

This is even more clearly proven by the fact that the multisided dialogue arranged with so much effort in recent years between the North and South by opening the barrier between the North and South, which were in a state of isolation from each other for a long period, and by opening the door of dialogue, which was frozen shut, was soon suspended and has not resumed for more than a year.



If high-level North-South political and military talks are arranged, circumstances and an atmosphere favorable for dialogue will be created and multi-lateral dialogue, which has been suspended, will be resumed and progress smoothly. Moreover, new dialogue will be briskly held between the North and South, eventually causing supreme-level North-South talks to be arranged.

High-level North-South political and military talks--the site of new dialogue and negotiations--constitute important ways to provide a prerequisite for creating a phase favorable for the fatherland's reunification and for smoothly resolving the reunification question.

A primary question in achieving the fatherland's independent and peaceful reunification is to alleviate tension on the Korean peninsula, to guarantee peace, and to provide a condition favorable for peaceful reunification.

Reunification is the people's supreme goal and our people's greatest and long cherished desire.

Bringing an end to the tragedy of division and reunifying the fatherland is an important question that is related to the destiny of the people. There is no more precious and urgent task than this task.

However, no matter how dealy and how urgently reunification is precious and required, it will not be achieved without [word indistinct].

When political and military confrontation is intensified and when the danger of war exists, we cannot achieve reconciliation and unity, nor can we hold dialogue in a trustful manner. Even if we hold dialogue, we cannot develop collaboration and exchanges, nor can we take any affirmative measures, small or large, for achieving reunification.

If measures for eliminating political and military confrontation between the North and South are taken as a result of the convocation of high-level North-South political and military talks in accordance with our proposal, national reconciliation and unity will be achieved, an atmosphere of trust will be created, and a prerequisite favorable for reunification will be provided.

If high-level North-South political and military talks produce a good result, a decisive phase will open to successfully resolve the question of the country's reunification in accordance with the desire and will of all the people.

The proposal for holding high-level North-South political and military talks constitutes another manifestation of our peace-loving and patriotic efforts to open a bright prospect for peace and the peaceful reunification of the country through dialogue and negotiations.

It is our invariable stand to achieve national unity between the North and South through dialogue and negotiations and to peacefully achieve the country's reunification.

This is clearly proven by the fact that in the past we exerted sincere efforts to improve relations between the North and South through dialogue and negotiations and to open a phase favorable for the fatherland's reunification.

All the proposals and measures we have advanced and taken on many occasions to achieve national unity between the North and South and to promote the fatherland's independent and peaceful reunification reflect a peace-loving and patriotic stand for bringing an end to the division of the national territory and the people and for building a peaceful and prosperous Korea devoid of aggression, war, subjugation, and domination.

In recent years, we have advanced epochal proposals to open a new phase on the future path of peace and the peaceful reunification of the country through dialogue and negotiations, and have struggled positively to implement these proposals

Early in 1924, we advanced an epochal proposal for holding tripartite talks among us, the United States, and South Korea to bring an end to the state of military confrontation between the North and South, to basically eliminate the danger of war, to guarantee durable peace, and to provide a prerequisite for achieving the country's independent and peaceful reunification. Whenever opportunities have arisen, we have called for quickly holding talks, repeatedly showing our magnanimous stand.

While exerting a sincere effort to implement the just proposal for holding tripartite talks, we have worked toward developing a trend of detente for improving relations between the North and South, which are actually confronting each other.

With a relief step for the South Korean flood victims, which proceeded out of love for the fellow countrymen, as the momentum, we have successively set forth rational ways to promote North-South dialogue.

Proceeding from a desire to promote the fatherland's reunification, we have advanced a proposal for holding North-South parliamentary talks after initiatively arranging economic and Red Cross talks between the North and South, and have struggled positively to implement this proposal.

In order to provide favorable circumstances and an atmosphere for North-South dialogue, which had begun favorably, early last year, we decided to stop large-scale military exercises throughout the northern half of the republic and to suspend all military exercises when North-South dialogue is being held. We then urged the United States and the South Korean authorities to respond to this decision. After North-South dialogue, which had been held multilaterally, was suspended and reduced to the state of rupture because of the reckless war exercise rackets kicked up by the U.S. imperialist confrontation, we advanced a peace proposal to hold talks among those persons in the North and South who hold real power in the military sector and took the important action of transferring 150,000 KPA troops to peaceful construction work at a time of intensified and heightened tension.

Such positive peace proposals advanced by us and steps unilaterally taken by us proceeded from a stand for peacefully achieving the country's reunification not with arms but through dialogue and negotiations by valuing the dialogue which was held after a long interval.

If proposals and steps advanced and taken by us had been implemented, great progress would have been made in North-South dialogue, opening a favorable phase to alleviate tension in Korean, to guarantee peace, and to achieve peaceful reunification. Thus, a bright prospect for the fatherland's reunification would have opened.

However, the South Korean ruling bunch has ignored and rejected our repeated peace proposals and steps. It has answered these proposals and steps by stepping up reckless war exercise rackets and maneuvers for anticommunist confrontation to aggravate relations between the North and South and to extremely strain the situation.

Before the cannon smoke of the "Team Spirit-87" joint military exercise, which suspended North-South dialogue, had cleared, the South Korean ruling bunch held an annual security consultative meeting with the U.S. war maniacs and brazenly declared that it would continuously strengthen the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise. At the same time, while successively staging large-scale war exercises, it has aggravated the atmosphere of dialogue and desperately prevented its resumption.

The South Korean ruling bunch's anticommunists and anti-republic confrontation reackets, which negate dialogue, peace, and reunification, have recently reached its zenith.

At a time when the people's anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle has been stepped up to achieve independence and democracy, the South Korean ruling bunch, which regards anticommunism as a panacea, has wickedly committed the fascist and barbarous acts of mercilessly suppressing their just struggle by linking it with us and of wantonly arresting and imprisoning innocent people.

The anticommunist and fascist maneuvers of the South Korean ruling bunch, which has punished a national assemblyman from the opposition party on charges of calling for adopting not anticommunism but reunification as national policy by terming this act as one that tolerates communists, which has simultaneously arrested 1,500 students on charges of shouting for democracy and reunification by terming this act as one that tolerates communists and by mobilizing more than 8,000 tyrannical forces and even aircraft, and which has suppressed a peaceful meeting of the opposition party and off-stage forces by terming it as one that tolerates communists and by mobilizing armed police forces that are equivalent to 10 infantry divisions, cannot be justified at all.

The South Korean ruling bunch has wickedly raised a base and conspiratorial anticommunist commotion to fan the sentiment of emity and confrontation among the people by preposterously slandering and denouncing our peaceful construction of the Kumgangsan power station as offensive flooding operations and as a

special construction project by circulating a fraudulent lie about the threat from the North.

The situation has developed to the extent that, satiated with shouting the national policy of anticommunism, the South Korean persons in high authority brazenly rave that the country's reunification should be achieved under a free democratic system and that the greatest politics in the present situation are North-South confrontation.

Ignoring the stark situation in which mutually different ideologies and systems exist in the North and South, the South Korean ruling bunch has babbled about reunification under its system and regarded North-South confrontation as the greatest politics. This once again shows that, by basically and completely rejecting peace and reunification, it seeks to annihilate communists and achieve reunification by winning victory over communism.

The state of acute political and military confrontation on the Korean Peninsula has reached a very grave phase.

If such a state continues, mistrust between the North and South will be deepened and confrontation will be intensified, eventually touching off a war on the Korean Peninsula. If a war breaks out on the Korean Peninsula today when more than 1,000 nuclear weapons are deployed in South Korea and when various means of nuclear delivery have been continuously deployed there, it will directly develop into a nuclear war and will spread to a world war, imposing the disasters of nuclear war on our people and the people of the world.

Today when the destiny of the country and the people is on the crossroads of life and death, no one should overlook this.

In order to achieve a breakthrough to realize the fatherland's reunification in the present situation, we should hold high-level North-South political and military talks at the earliest possible date.

In order to implement the new proposal for the fatherland's reunification declared by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, the premier of our Administration Council and the minister of the People's Armed Forces on 11 January jointly sent a letter to the South Korean prime minister and the minister of defense, containing a proposal for holding high-level North-South political and military talks.

However, the South Korean side avoided receiving our letter with no justifiable reason. Moreover, in his policy speech, the person in authority, ignoring our new proposal, clamorously babbled about talks between the North and South Korean persons in supreme authority, which is not feasible at all, and about the resumption of existing dialogue. If our new proposal for ending the state of political and military confrontation between the North and South is implemented, multilateral dialogue, which has been suspended, will naturally be resumed, subsequently opening talks between the persons in supreme authority. Nevertheless, he wantonly babbled about the resumption of dialogue and about talks between the persons in supreme authority. This shows that

the South Korean side in fact has no intention of holding dialogue at all,

Frantically running amok to heighten tension on the Korean Peninsula, the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets have committed the impure act of answering our epochal peace proposals by announcing a plan for staging the very adventurous "Team Spirit-87" was exercise,

If the South Korean aise fully desires the resumption of dialogue, it should stop criminal maneuvers to lead the situation to the verge of war, respond to our peace proposal at the earliest possible date, and respond to the proposal for holding high-level North-South political and military talks.

Our proposal is a neutral one with no collateral conditions and fully considers and demand of the South side.

We have made it clear that if there is something that contributes to alleviating the political and military situation at high-level North-South political and military talks, we are ready to discuss any proposed advanced by the South Korean side.

The duty and mission assigned to those persons who hold real power in the military sector in the North and South for arranging high-level North-South political and military talks are great.

Although ideologies, systems, political views, and ideals are different between the North and South, this does not constitute reason nor ground for not holding high-level North-South political and military talks to realize the vital interest of the country and the people. Now is time when, instead of referring to peace and peaceful reunification in words only, we should take action to achieve this end.

We will be faithful to the end to the national duty assigned to us to implement the new peace proposal for holding high-level North-South political and military talks and will exert every possible effort to provide the opportunity of historic change in achieving detente, peace and peaceful reunification.

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CSO: 4109/33

## KULLOJA ON SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

SK030756 Pyongyang KULLOJA in Korean No 2, Feb 87 pp 76-81

[Article by Kim Chae-so: "Vigorously Accelerating Socialist Economic Construction Is an Important Task for Attaining the Complete Victory of Socialism"]

[Text] In his historic policy speech "For the Complete Victory of Socialism" made at the First Session of the Eighth SPA of the DPRK, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song put forward the building of a socialist society with complete victory as an impending task of struggle laid before the government of the Republic, based on his scientific analysis of the practical demand in socialist construction of our country and of the inevitability of communist construction.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song's policy speech, which comprehensively elucidated the method and tasks of struggle to realize a socialist society which has won complete victory based on the principle of social history advanced by the chuche idea, as well as the symbol of and inevitable course toward such a society, is an encyclopedia which extensively compiles the chuche-oriented revolutionary theory, strategy, and tactics concerning the complete victory of socialism. It is a great political program which our people should always adhere to firmly in socialist and communist construction.

The historic policy speech of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song is a new milestone for our people in their struggle to achieve the cause of independence of the popular masses and is a stimulating banner vigorously inspiring our people to a brilliant and rewarding future.

What plays an important role in the chuche-oriented revolutionary theory on the complete victory of socialism elucidated by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song is the theory on socialist economic construction.

In his historic speech, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song scientifically analyzed the significance and importance of economic construction in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism and put forth a programmatic task to win the complete victory of socialism by vigorously pushing ahead with economic construction.

In his policy speech, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song concretely pointed out that vigorously accelerating socialist economic construction is an important task for achieving the complete victory of socialism.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: Vigorously accelerating socialist economic construction is an important task for achieving the complete victory of socialism. ("For the Complete Victory of Socialism," p 14)

Achieving the complete victory of socialism is an inevitable demand for socialist and communist construction and is a historic task which should be carried out during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

The establishment of a socialist system may serve as a historic turning point in the course of social development from capitalism to socialism. However, this does not mean the complete victory of socialism, and even if a socialist system is established, this does not mean that the transition to socialism has been accomplished.

Even after a socialist system is established, ideological, technological, and cultural backwardness inherited from an anachronistic society still exist in society. Because of this, various forms of differences including differences between urban and rural communities and between workers and peasants remain. Thus, the material and technological foundation of such a society is weaker than that of an advanced socialist system and the material and cultural living standards of workers is not at the deserved level.

The socialist society with complete victory is a complete socialist society in which the entire society is working class-oriented and all the people enjoy the independent and creative life as the equal masters of the nation and society. Therefore, socialist economic construction should be vigorously pushed ahead to build a socialist society which has won complete victory.

Socialist economic construction is a rewarding struggle to provide conditions for the popular masses' independent and creative lives by conquering nature and is a sacred struggle to strengthen the socialist material and technological foundations and to conquer the communist material fortress. Only when economic construction is carried out well, can socialist and communist construction be completed and the chajusong [self-reliance] of the popular masses be completely realized.

As taught by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, a socialist system established through a socialist revolution can be endlessly consolidated and developed, and its superiority and might can be fully demonstrated by material and technological foundations that correspond to it.

Only when we consolidate the socialist material and technological foundations by carrying out economic construction well and only when all of the workers who were liberated from exploitation and suppression can enjoy not only independent political and ideological lives but also abundant material and cultural lives to their satisfaction, can a socialist system become truly powerful and consolidated and complete socialist victory be attained.

Moreover, countries like ours--where a socialist revolution was carried out under circumstances in which they did not go through an industrial revolution and in which they are economically backward--must devote particularly great efforts to economic construction after establishing a socialist system.

We inherited a backward production capacity because an industrial revolution was not carried out in the past. Everything was destroyed during the war. Therefore, we could not but wage a struggle to build a new society from ashes. However, our people, strongly united around the party and the leader, have carried out the task of socialist industrialization and have provided a strong foundation for the self-reliant national economy in a historically short period of time. In the course of carrying out several people's economic development plans, the material and technological foundations of the self-reliant socialist national economy, which we have built, have been strengthened and its infrastructures have been more completely established.

Still, we must work harder in all fields of socialist economic construction to attain the complete victory of socialism,

When socialist economic construction is further accelerated to keep up with the matured demand for the developing revolution and with our people's revolutionary aspirations, all sectors of the people's economy can be equipped with modern technology; the economic might of the country can be strengthened; and the complete victory of socialism can be attained.

Vigorously accelerating socialist economic construction is an important function of a socialist country. The further socialist and communist construction advances, the more important the role of a socialist country as an organizer of its economy becomes.

Whether or not we can realize the complete victory of socialism ahead of time to keep up with the demand of the developing revolution and the aspirations of our people for economic development greatly depends on how we carry out economic construction.

Therefore, by vigorously accelerating socialist economic construction, we must provide firm material and technological foundations suitable to a socialist society.

In his historical policy speech, based on his scientific analysis of the aspirations of our people and the matured demand of our country for economic development, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song put forth a goal for economic construction for the complete victory of socialism.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: The goal we must attain in the field of economic construction to realize the complete victory of socialism is to build a *chuche*-type people's economy of which all sectors are highly modernized and all infrastructures are completely established. We must liberate the workers from difficult and hard labor by industrializing agriculture and by upgrading the overall technological and equipment level of the people's



economy and must satisfactorily resolve the people's food, clothing, and housing questions on a higher level. (ibid. p 15)

As the great leader has taught, the goal we must attain in economic construction to win the complete victory of socialism is to establish a chuche-oriented economy with highly modernized domains and perfect infrastructures.

The economic construction goal which the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has elucidated to win the complete victory of socialism puts forth the essential requirements to establish the material and technological foundations of society and a material foundation to win the complete victory of socialism.

The material foundation to win the complete victory of socialism is a highly modernized foundation of production which can guarantee high labor productivity, and is one with perfect infrastructures to harmoniously link relations in production with all necessary domains. This means that the material foundations to win the complete victory of socialism is the foundation of production on the high stage of development which can properly meet the social demand for products,

When the economic construction goal put forth by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song to win the complete victory of socialism is attained, the industrialization of agriculture will be realized, and the overall level of technology and equipment of the people's economy will be drastically enhanced, thus freeing working people from the hardships of labor; solving the people's food, clothing, and housing problems at a high level; and effecting a great turn in the development of our revolution and in our people's living,

Thanks to the great leader's scientific definition of the economic construction goal, the level of the material foundation to win the complete victory of socialism has been clearly defined, and another new milestone has been established for our people's struggle to carry out socialist construction.

In his historic speech, in putting forth the economic construction goal to win the complete victory of socialism, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song put forth a strategic line to attain it.

The great leader taught that we must continue to maintain the line of self-reliant socialist national economic construction and vigorously accelerate the chucheization, modernization, and scientization of the people's economy in order to attain the socialist economic construction goal.

Establishing a self-reliant national economy is the strategic line which must be maintained throughout the entire period of socialist construction, and realizing the chucheization, modernization, and scientization of the people's economy is the line which must be maintained to further strengthen the self-reliant economy under the present circumstances in which socialist industrialization is being realized and the technological revolution is reaching a new high stage.

Thus, the line of self-reliant socialist national economic construction and the line of the chucheization, modernization, and scientization of the people's economy are closely linked with one another. Therefore, we must uniformly maintain and implement them.

Only when the line of self-reliant socialist national economic construction is invariably maintained and the chucheization, modernization, and scientization of the people's economy are vigorously accelerated, can the foundation of the self-reliant national economy be further strengthened; the sectors of the people's economy be modernized; and the technological process in production, production methods, and management activities be made scientific to successfully attain the economic construction goal to win the complete victory of socialism.

In his policy speech, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, in elucidating the economic construction goal and the way to attain it to win the complete victory of socialism, elucidated the pending task of economic construction for it.

In socialist economic construction, an important pending task is to successfully fulfill the Third 7-Year Plan.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: The basic task of the Third 7-Year Plan is to firmly establish material and technological foundations to win the complete victory of socialism by vigorously accelerating the chucheization, modernization, and scientization of the people's economy. (ibid, p 16)

The basic task of the Third 7-Year Plan is to firmly lay the material and technological foundations for achieving the complete victory of socialism by continuously accelerating the work of making the people's economy chuche-oriented, modern, and scientific. This is a very high struggle goal for achieving the complete victory of the socialism.

The Third 7-Year Plan is a very vast and magnificent blueprint that envisages more than 1.9 times of industrial growth and more than 1.4 times of agricultural production by achieving the 10-point long-range goal for socialist economic construction set forth by our party and by rapidly increasing production.

The Third 7-Year Plan, which has set a vast goal to build the economy and to improve the people's standard of living, is a magnificent economic construction plan, which reflects our people's desire to achieve the high goal of socialism at the earliest possible date and their unyielding revolutionary will to vigorously advance with the spirit of adding the speed battle to Chollima. This long-range plan most correctly reflects the legal requirements for developing the socialist economy, which has continuously and rapidly developed.

When the Third 7-Year Plan is implemented, production will rapidly develop as a result of strengthening economic self-reliance and as a result of firmly arming all sectors of the people's economy, including industry and the rural economy, with modern technology. When this plan is successfully implemented,

our country will magnificently join the ranks of developed countries, and the country's economic might will matchlessly increase. When the people's food, clothing, and housing problems are smoothly resolved and when the workers' standard of living is epochally improved as a whole, all workers will much more correctly realize the superiority of the socialist system through their practical daily lives. Thus, epochal progress will be made in achieving the goal for socialist economic construction set forth by the great leader, and a decisive change will be brought about in our people's struggle to achieve the complete victory of socialism.

Indeed, the Third 7-Year Plan is a magnificent economic construction plan designed to further strengthen the country's economic might and to epochally improve the people's standard of living and is a great goal for bringing about a decisive change in the struggle to achieve the complete victory of socialism.

With the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's setting forth of the great program of the Third 7-Year Plan, which will occupy a brilliant position in the history of socialist economic construction in our country, as the momentum, a new prospect will open on the future path of our people for socialist construction.

While setting forth the magnificent program of the Third 7-Year Plan in his policy speech, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song gave a scientific solution to important questions in successfully implementing this plan.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught that the most important thing in implementing the Third 7-Year Plan is to vigorously accelerate the work of technologically reforming the people's economy by developing science and technology and by strengthening the technological innovation movement.

Science and technology--the product of man's creative wisdom--have boundless potential in conquering nature and in dominating the world. Achieving the high growth of production based on highly developed science and technology is the basic trend of the present age for economic development.

The reality of socialist construction in our country much more urgently demands the rapid development of science and technology. Without the rapid development of science and technology and without a bold and positive technological innovation, we cannot achieve the vast task of the new long-range plan, nor can we raise our country's economy to a new, higher stage.

By concentrating on developing science and technology, we should smoothly resolve various scientific and technological questions in socialist economic construction and raise the level of science and technology in our country to a world level at the earliest possible date.

To do so, we must correctly map out plans to develop science and technology to keep up with the long-range plan of our country for socialist construction and with the practical demand, and must organize and mobilize the creativity of the scholars, technicians, and workers of broad strata in this direction.

We must also establish a correct viewpoint on science and technology among the guiding functionaries and must decisively improve the party- and state-level guidance on scientific research projects and the work of guaranteeing these projects.

An important goal in the scientific and technological development of our country is to realize overall technological remodeling in the people's economy.

We must mechanize, automate, robotize, and computerize production procedures by remodeling, in a modern fashion, worn and outmoded equipment in all sectors of the people's economy. It is important to lay strong production foundations in the machinery industry, the microelectronic industry, and the robotic industry in a short period of time and to satisfactorily guarantee the production of various modern production facilities necessary for the technological remodeling of the people's economy, electronic components and parts, and components and parts for automation by devoting great efforts to these industries during the period of the new long-range plan.

We must increase the production capacities of key industries to successfully carry out the Third 7-Year Plan.

The power, coal mining, steel, and non-ferrous metallurgical industries and other key industries will play an important role in carrying out the grand tasks put forth in the new long-range plan. If production goals for key industries are satisfactorily attained, this means that a large portion of the overall tasks put forth in the new long-range plan will be solved. Therefore, only when production capacities of existing plants in the key industries are upgraded to the utmost and only when more new modern plants are built, can the Third 7-Year Plan be successfully fulfilled.

Epochally improving the lives of the people is one of the important tasks that we must resolve during the period of the Third 7-Year Plan. Our party has put forth the task for improving the overall lives of the people to a higher level by satisfactorily resolving the problems of the people's food, housing, and clothing during the period of the new long-range plan. We must strengthen the economic might of the country and must satisfactorily resolve the problems of the people's food, clothing, and housing by accelerating the construction of major projects, including the reclamation of 300,000-chongbo tideland, the Sunchon Vinalon Complex capable of producing 100,000 tons of vinalon, and the Sariwon Potash Fertilizer Complex.

Decisively improving economic guidance and enterprise management is important in successfully attaining the Third 7-Year Plan.

A chuche-type socialist economic management system was firmly established in our country under the wise leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, and its great vitality is demonstrated in economic construction.

By firmly protecting and adhering to the chuche-type socialist economic management system, which our party created in the fields of economic guidance and enterprise management, and by thoroughly materializing it, we must make its vitality be clearly demonstrated in socialist construction.

Thoroughly materializing the Tae'an work system in all sectors of the people's economy is important. Only when all plants and enterprises tackle the economic organizational work under the collective leadership of the party committees according to the demand of the Tae'an work system and only when they mobilize the revolutionary fervor and creativity of the masses engaged in production by giving priority to ideological work, can socialist economic construction be vigorously accelerated.

Scientizing and rationalizing economic guidance and enterprise management according to the practical demand of socialist construction is an urgent demand.

The socialist economy develops continuously, and the new situation in which the economy develops continuously, and the new situation in which the economy develops calls for improving economic guidance and enterprise management to comply with the development of the socialist economy. All sectors of the people's economy should carry out management activities in a scientific manner based on a correct plan, calculation, and statistics and should rationalize economic management by correctly using various economic levers to suit the transitional nature of the socialist society.

Indeed, concrete ways to implement the new long-range plan delineated by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-sung are scientific ways to successfully achieve the magnificent goal of the Third 7-Year Plan by highly demonstrating the might of our self-reliant socialist economy and the people's creative capability.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-sung's comprehensive delineation in his historic policy speech "For the Complete Victory of Socialism" of the task of economic construction for the complete victory of socialism, the method of carrying out this task, and fighting task thereof is truly of great theoretical and practical significance. Thus, he has brightly illuminated the future path of our people's struggle to achieve the complete victory of socialism.

A clear road toward realizing a complete socialist society has been illuminated with the great leader's comprehensive elucidation of important theoretical and practical questions, including the legal course of building socialism and communism and the method of economic construction for the complete victory of socialism.

With the great leader unfolding the brilliant blueprint for the Third 7-Year Plan, we have come to effect a decisive change in the struggle to achieve the complete victory of socialism by strengthening the economic might of the country and by epochally improving the people's standard of living.

Thus, our people have come to much more vigorously advance toward the bright future of socialism and communism under the wise leadership of the party and the leader.

The great leader's unfolding of a brilliant blueprint for economic construction for realizing a completely victorious socialist society--constitutes a

historic event that will help the South Korean people, who have viewed the northern half of the Republic as a lighthouse of hope, cherish the feeling of new faith, a fighting spirit, and courage, and will much more vigorously call on them to wage a sacred struggle to achieve the fatherland's reunification.

The great leader's setting of the goal for economic construction--for achieving the complete victory of socialism--and his unfolding of the magnificent blueprint of the Third 7-Year Plan will greatly encourage the revolutionary people of the world, who are struggling to build a new society, socialism, and communism.

With the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song comprehensively giving a solution to the questions of economic construction which arise in completing this society based on the chuche-type exposition of a completely victorious socialist society, the chuche revolutionary theory on socialist economic construction has further developed and become rich.

We should expedite the construction of a completely victorious socialist society by vigorously accelerating economic construction by upholding the historic speech delivered by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song at the First Session of the Eighth SPA.

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## NODONG SINMUN EDITORIALS FOR MARCH-APRIL 1987

[Editorial Report] The following editorials appeared in Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean during March-April 1987

On 1 March 1987, at the upper half of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "The Entire Nation Should Pool Strength in Averting War, Defending Peace, and Promoting the Cause of Reunification." [Text published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT Vol IV, No 043, 5 March 1987, pp D 10-13: "NODONG SINMUN On 1 March Anniversary." Text also summarized in Ibid., No 040, 2 March 1987, pp D 7-8: "NODONG SINMUN Stresses Reunification Efforts."]

On 3 March 1987, at the upper right and center of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Substantially Conduct the Indoctrination on the Revolutionary Tradition Through Revolutionary Relics." [Text published in KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT, JPRS-KAR-87-020, 26 March 1987, pp 62-64: "Daily Stresses Revolutionary Traditions."]

On 4 March 1987, at the left center of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Effect a Turn in Railway Transport According to the Demand of Developing Reality." [Text published in KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT, JPRS-KAR-87-020, 26 March 1987, pp 116-118: "NODONG SINMUN Urges Turn in Railway Transport."]

On 5 March 1987, at the upper right and center of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Agricultural Workers Should Much More Highly Display a Spirit Worthy of Masters." [Text] published in KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT, JPRS-KAR-87-020, 26 March 1987, pp 77-80: "Daily On Agricultural Workers' Spirit."]

On 7 March 1987, at the upper center and right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Study Party Regulations Well and Work and Live Accordingly." The editorial quotes Kim Il-song on party regulations being the lifestyle norms and rules of action for party members; emphasizes that party members have a duty to study party regulations and that the foremost sign of a true party member who is a revolutionary warrior of the party is endless loyalty to the party; notes that party regulations are the rules of action for party organizations and members to establish the unitary ideology of the party; calls for party members to continuously heighten their party spirit and

more ardently cherish party regulations as a weapon for more firmly entrenching loyalty to the party today when national reunification must be accelerated; emphasizes that practical experience demonstrates that party organizations which act according to the requirements of party regulations fully perform their roles and functions; states that answers to all the questions arising in completing the political and ideological nature of the party members and raising up the role and function of the party members; calls upon party organizations to acquire effective study methods in keeping with the ideological and conscious level of the party members and raise up the experiential nature of party regulations study; stresses that party responsible functionaries must take the lead in studying party regulations; calls for all party members and party functionaries to intensify study of party regulations and thereby make themselves into stronger revolutionary warriors of the party and strengthen the fighting power of party organizations.

On 10 March 1987, at the lower left of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Ceaselessly Developing Korea-Tanzania Friendship." [Text published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 047, 11 March 1987, pp D 7-9: "Tanzania's President Ali Mwinyi Visits DPRK: 10 March NODONG SINMUN Editorial"].

On 14 March 1987, at the upper right and center of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Concentrate All Energies on Steel Production." [Text published in KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT, JPRS-KAR-87-023, 10 April 1987, pp 82-85: "NODONG SINMUN Urges Increase in Steel Production."]

On 16 March 1987, at the upper center and right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Actively Introduce and Publicize the Positive Example of the Three Revolutions Standard Bearers." The editorial stresses the responsibility for everyone to uphold the beloved Comrade Kim Chong-il's work, "Let Us More Vigorously Engage in the Campaign to Capture the Red Flag of the Three Revolutions" and further expedite this campaign by widely publicizing the positive example of the three revolutions standard bearers; quotes Kim Chong-il on properly setting up units which have received the red flag of the three revolutions and the three revolutions standard bearers in order to heighten social interest in the campaign to capture the red flag of the three revolutions; calls for advertising the positive example of three revolutions standard bearers and the campaign to capture the red flag of the three revolutions as was done for the Chollima movement in the past; quotes Kim Chong-il on the party organizations using newspapers, broadcasts, publications, lectures, agitation and various other methods to instill in the broad masses a clear understanding of the importance and significance of the campaign to capture the red flag of the three revolutions and to widely publicize the examples of units and three revolutions standard bearers; calls upon all party organizations to see to it that all party members and workers emulate the loyalty and revolutionary consciousness displayed in the campaign to capture the red flag of the three revolutions and the campaign to emulate the unsung heroes; exhorts all to widely publicize the positive examples of the three revolutions standard bearers and normalize their exemplary actions so that every post in socialist construction will be seething with a revolutionary environment and more highly sound the drumbeat of the revolution.



On 17 March 1987, at the upper center and right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Perform Spring Tree Planting Well." The editorial notes that this year marks the 40th anniversary of Kim Il-song's planting a tree on Munsubong and the 30th anniversary of Kim Chong-il's planting a tree on Changsan; quotes Kim Chong-il on the need for properly growing and protecting forests; stresses that the country's forests have been restored due to the wise leadership of Kim Il-song after the devastation during the war; calls for a decisive advance in the struggle to grow 2 million chongbo of forests and thorough preparations for spring planting; urges the responsible functionaries in units which are mobilized for tree planting to go out to each planting site assigned to their unit and supervise tree planting; calls upon party organizations and party functionaries to intensify indoctrination of the workers in socialist patriotism so that they will demonstrate a high patriotism when mobilized for tree planting and to bring the interest of responsible functionaries in tree planting one step higher; exhorts all to rush out to plant many more trees and bring the tree planting season to conclusion this year, which is the first year of the 3rd Seven-Year Plan.

On 19 March 1987, at the upper right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us More Solidly Organize Labor Life." [Text published in KOREA AFFAIRS REPORT, JPRS-KAR-87-023, 10 April 1987, pp 73-75: "NODONG SINMUN Stresses Organizing Labor Life."]

On 20 March 1987, at the upper center and right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Muster All Efforts and Perform Good Quality Seeding in Due Season." The editorial quotes Kim Il-song on the need for timely seeding, transplanting and weeding to raise grain production; stresses the importance of seeding cold frame nurseries in the proper season according to the requirements of chuche farming; calls for the functionaries in the rural economic sector to formulate detailed plans labor management work entailed in seeding operations and for the functionaries in rural party organizations and the agricultural sector to check out periodically the status of cold frame nursery seeding and to formulate detailed plans for organizing this work to be carried out; calls for the role of country cooperative farms to be enhanced and for the functionaries in country cooperative farm management committees to go down among the farmers in accordance with the requirements of the Chongsan-ri method and spirit, intensify technical guidance and thoroughly implement chuche farming methods in seeding operations; urges the functionaries to go out to the seed beds and see to it that the seeding is carried out scientifically and technologically; exhorts all functionaries and agricultural workers in the agricultural sector as well as three revolutions team members to uphold the party's farming first policy and to perform cold nursery seeding in due season so as to bring about a great upswing once again in this year's farming.

On 23 March 1987, at the upper center and right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Vigorously Accelerate the New All-Out March With High Revolutionary Zeal and National Pride." [Text published in KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT, JPRS-KAR-87-024, 14 April 1987, pp 36-41: "DPRK Daily Urges Acceleration of All-Out March."]

On 26 March 1987, at the lower left of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Bring About an Upswing in Cement Production." The editorial states that the people are waging a vigorous struggle to accomplish the first year's tasks in the new long-range plan in a vigilant, mobilized posture in conformance with the situation which has arisen; quotes Kim Il-song on the necessity for production construction to increase cement production in order to settle the housing question; emphasizes that the new long-range plant requires a lot of cement for capital construction and cement will be required in larger quantities at the key construction project sites; calls for the producers in factories, enterprises, shops and work teams in the cement production sector to accomplish their ponderous tasks for realizing the party requirements for the cement production process; states that one of the important reserves for decisively increasing cement production is the responsible and skilled organizational work of the functionaries and that an important requirement for increasing cement production is regular overhaul and maintenance of equipment, particularly calcinators and crushers; urges the functionaries in committees and ministries in the administration council to be well aware that one of the matters in which the party is greatly interested is cement production and the appropriate sectors must decisively improve provision of fuel and raw materials for cement production; equates transportation with production; notes that a large amount of raw materials and fuel is piled up at the mines at present and that transportation should be accentuated over production at present; exhorts the functionaries and workers in the cement production sector to bring about a new upswing in cement production and thereby repay the party's trust and expectations with their loyalty.

On 31 March 1987, at the middle of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Be More Strongly Armed With Our Party's Chuche Idea." The editorial notes that this day marks the fifth anniversary of the publication of Kim Chong-il's work, "On the Chuche Idea" which resulted in demonstrating the veracity and greatness of Kim Il-song's chuche idea; quotes volume four of Kim Chong-il's work, "To Complete the Revolutionary Cause of Chuche" on being more strongly armed with the chuche idea to thoroughly implement the party line and policy and successfully realizing the party's program for imbuing the whole society with the chuche idea; praises Kim Chong-il's work for becoming the theoretical and practical work for imbuing the whole society with the chuche idea over the past five years; claims that the chuche idea has won a great victory by being embodied in revolutionary action and its innovative nature is growing daily; states that the party line and policy is a shining embodiment of the chuche idea under which the struggle to promote the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions and place the national economy on a chuche-oriented, modern and scientific footing is now proceeding apace; urges all party organizations to link indoctrination in the chuche idea with action in accordance with the requirements of revolutionary development and more substantially carry it out; exhorts all party members and workers to be more strongly armed with the chuche idea and hasten the ultimate victory of the revolutionary cause of chuche.

On 3 April 1987, at the lower left of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Increase the Production of Nonferrous Metals by Concentrating on the Komdok and Tanchon Districts." [Text published in KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT,

HPRS-KAR-87-027, 29 April 1987, pp 73-75: "NODONG SINMUN On Nonferrous Metal Output".]

On 5 April 1987, at the bottom of page two, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "A Goodwill Envoy From Southern Africa." [Text published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 067, 8 April 1987, pp D 1-2: "Angola's Dos Santos, Delegation Visit DPRK".]

On 9 April 1987, at the upper right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Further Beautify the Land of Our Country." [Text published in KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT, JPRS-KAR-87-028, 1 May 1987, pp 98-100: "NODONG SINMUN Views Environmental Protection Law".]

On 15 April 1987, on page one, the paper carried a full page editorial with border entitled, "The Revolutionary Cause of Our People, Advancing While Upholding the Respected and Beloved Leader Comrade Kim Il-song in High Esteem, Is Ever-Victorious and Invincible." [Text published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 077, 22 April 1987, pp D 12-21: "Events Marking Kim Il-song's Birthday Continue. NODONG SINMUN Editorial".]

On 19 April 1987, at the bottom of page 3, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "The Righteous Struggle of the South Korean People for Independence, Democracy, and Reunification Will Win Victory Without Fail." [Text published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 077, 22 April 1987, pp D 4-8: "NODONG SINMUN Editorial on 19 April Anniversary".]

On 23 April 1987, at the bottom of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Highly Display the Beautiful Traditional Custom of Unity Between the Army and the People." [Text published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 079, 24 April 1987, pp D 9-13: "Editorial Lauds Unity Between Army, People".]

On 27 April 1987, at the center right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "May the Whole Party, Entire Country and the Whole Populace Go Forth and Actively Expedite Kwangbok Street Construction." The editorial notes that key construction projects are now being vigorously expedited such as construction of the Sunchon Vinalon Complex and the Taecheon Power Station and their operational deadline is being advanced; calls for completion of construction of Kwangbok Street in the shortest period possible; quotes Kim Il-song on completion of key construction projects to strengthen the country's economic might and wholly settle the country's housing, nutrition and clothing problem; emphasizes that quickly expediting and completing the Kwangbok Street construction project is one of the most important matters today for providing facilities for the 13th World Students Festival to be held in Pyongyang in 1989 and the North-South Joint Hosting of the Olympic Games, comprising high-rise apartments, construction of the Angol Village Athletics and Cultural Facilities, Nungna Sports Arena, Nunga Bridge, Soccer Stadium, Youth Hall, Athletics Stadium, etc.; stresses that Kim Chong-il recently called for mustering the strength of the whole party, entire country and whole populace for Kwangbok Street construction and construction of facilities for the 13th World Students Festival; states that

construction for the 13th World Students Festival is to provide facilities for students from every continent to gather, transcending all political, cultural, religious and ideological differences; emphasizes that manpower and material assistance to the Kwangbok Street construction project is important for implementing the party's requirements for expediting this construction to the maximum; exhorts all functionaries and workers to uphold the party's appeal to positively assist the Kwangbok Street construction project and create new miracles in construction of key facilities for the Young Students Festival.

On 29 April 1987, at the lower center and right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us More Thoroughly Implement the Land Law." The editorial notes that this day marks the 10th anniversary of Kim Il-song's historic speech, "On the Land Law" which he gave at the 7th session of the 5th Supreme Peoples Assembly; notes that the land law which Kim Il-song presented in his historic speech was the program which clearly outlined the way for land revision, protection, construction and management and summoned the whole populace to carry it out; explains the issues of land revision, construction and protection and some of the successes in implementing the land law; quotes Kim Il-song on the fundamental objective of adopting the land law being to present a land construction program to bring about a new transformation in building, protecting and managing national land; calls for the functionaries in the national land sector to further complete the over-all plan for national land construction to change the face of the country in accordance with the requirements of socialist and communist construction; calls for positively promoting land terracing and vigorously expediting tideland reclamation projects and construction of internal service networks; exhorts everyone to thoroughly implement the land law which is the thesis on the land question and better protect, manage and construct national land.

On 30 April 1987, at the upper right of page one, the paper carried an editorial entitled, "Let Us Properly Perform Organizational and Supervisory Work to Accomplish Economic Tasks." The editorial notes that the present situation in which the 3rd Seven-Year Plan is underway requires that economic guidance functionaries better formulate organizational and supervisory work; quotes Kim Il-song on all the guidance functionaries and workers devotedly struggling with high-minded loyalty to the party and revolution to once again add luster to the might and esteem of Korea by brilliantly accomplishing the 3rd Seven-Year Plan; notes that the zeal of the people is very high after Kim Il-song's policy address and his speech to the 2nd session of the 8th Supreme Peoples Assembly; calls for economic guidance functionaries to be profoundly aware of the importance of their responsibilities in accomplishing the economic tasks assigned to them by the party; exhorts the guidance functionaries in the committees and ministries of the administration council and factories and enterprises to go among the masses who are waging the struggle to accomplish the tasks of the first year of the 3rd Seven-Year Plan and formulate plans to accomplish their production goals by day, month and quarter; exhorts party organizations and three revolutions teams to push forward with the work of the economic administration functionaries and positively assist them to accomplish this year's plan successfully through exemplary battle organization and command and thereby vigorously move forward along the broad designs of the 3rd Seven-Year Plan.

## NODONG SINMUN ON PARTY MEMBERS AS VANGUARD FIGHTERS

SK091110 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2139 GMT 26 Jul 87

[NODONG SINMUN 27 June editorial: "Party Members Should Continuously Bring About Innovations and Advance, Taking, the Lead in a New All-out Advance Movement"]

[Text] Today, we are assigned a much more weighty and vast task than ever before. The situation demands that all our party members vigorously struggle, taking the lead in the all-out advance movement.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee, has noted: Our party members are vanguard fighters who should complete the cause of socialism and communism--the chuche revolutionary cause--in Korea in a responsible manner.

It is the revolutionary duty of our party members--the vanguard fighters of the revolution--to take the lead in carrying out the party's revolutionary cause. The noble title of Korean Communist Party member is the most honorable title that the true revolutionaries of our era can possess. By resolutely safeguarding the intent of the party and the leader and by implementing this intent to the end by leading the masses of the people, our party members can accomplish their duty for the party, for the revolution, for the fatherland, and for the people.

Increasing the role of party members as vanguard members constitutes a much more urgent requirement in light of the vast revolutionary task assigned us today. The task of achieving the complete victory of socialism set forth by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the magnificent blueprint of the Third 7-Year Plan call on our party members to bring about new innovations and perform exploits. Our party expects that all party members will uphold the banner of innovation in today's magnificent march toward implementing the fatherland's long-range plan and toward providing our people with greater happiness.

Today the Korean Communist Party members, who are loyal to the party and the leader, are firmly defending revolutionary outposts in all sectors and units throughout the country. When party members struggle in all sectors and at all outposts by exerting themselves in a revolutionary manner, all the people

throughout the country will seethe, and continuous upsurges will be brought about in all sectors of the revolution and construction.

Our party members have been hardened on the road of grim revolutionary struggle, especially through the march toward imbuing society with the chuche idea. Their political and ideological levels have matchlessly increased.

Our party has unfolded a brilliant blueprint for the great prosperity of the fatherland by trusting the endless loyalty of our Workers' Party members to the party and the revolution. All our party members should return without fail the party's high trust in and expectations of them by making the drum sound of the revolution reverberate by upholding the banner of the three revolutions to meet the requirements the present situation in which a new magnificent struggle is being waged to build socialism. What is important here above all is for all party members to be highly and politically aware that they are members of the honorable WPK.

Party members are vanguard flag-bearers who take the lead in carrying out the cause of our glorious party. All party members should be highly aware that what they perform is the matchlessly worthwhile work of implementing the far-sighted plan of the party and the leader and of expediting the complete victory of socialism and the cause of the fatherland's reunification. In particular, deeply realizing that they are spontaneous fighters who uphold our party's chuche revolutionary cause, party members should always think and act only in accordance with the requirements of the chuche idea and struggle with a noble will to strengthen the unity of our revolutionary ranks, which are firmly united round the party and the leader based on this idea.

The role of our party members as the vanguard fighters of the revolution should be represented in implementing party lines and policies, not in words, but through practical struggles at their assigned revolutionary outposts. The honor of party members will shine when their revolutionary duty is thoroughly performed under all circumstances. Those party members who take the lead in carrying out any difficult work whatsoever if they are called on by the party and the revolution and who achieve a breakthrough ahead of others, are true party members.

How our party members perform their revolutionary duty is related to how dearly they value the trust shown by the party in them. The trust shown by the party and the leader is a costly honor which they receive by substantially contributing to achieving the prosperity of the fatherland the happiness of the people by thoroughly implementing party policies. This honor is guaranteed not through empty words but through a positive and practical struggle to implement party policies. Accordingly, party members should devote all their meditation and energy to the work of returning the party's trust in and expectations of them by substantially attaining work results.

Those party members who unconditionally accomplish in a timely manner the task which the party desires to perform on all fronts of socialist construction, including the sites for the construction of important projects and in the

extractive, metallurgical, transportation, and people's consumer goods production sectors, are those party members who truly return with substantial results the trust shown by the party and the leader.

Deeply grasping the party's intent to bring about a great upsurge in socialist construction, party members in all sectors of the people's economy should continuously bring about innovations and continuously advance, taking the lead in the struggle demanded by the party and holding the banner of struggle.

Party members at sites for the construction of important projects, including the sites for the Sunchon vinylon industrial complex and Kwangbok Street, and party members in the primary industrial sectors, including the coal mining and metallurgical sectors and the transportation sector, should take a share in opening good prospects for achieving the magnificent goal of the Third 7-Year Plan by accomplishing their assigned militant tasks without fail.

The rural economic sector should vigorously wage the struggle to reap a greater bumper harvest this year by thoroughly meeting the requirement of the chuche farming method, upholding the party's policy of giving first priority to farm work and the party's slogan "The fields of the farm are my own fields."

Party members in the sectors of light industry, fishery, and services for the people should brilliantly fulfill the party intent to further improve the people's standard of living by smoothly carrying out the militant tasks assigned them. In particular, party members should uphold the banner of technological innovation everywhere.

In order to assume their duty as the vanguard fighters of the revolution, our party members should become those who indoctrinate and organize the masses of people. In addition to becoming vanguard fighters of the revolution, our party members should become skillful political activists who positively indoctrinate and activate the masses of people. While always working with the masses of people, all party members should effectively carry to the indoctrination work of deeply instilling loyalty to the party and the leader in them. At the same time, it is important to vigorously call on the masses of the people to implement party policies. By continuously training them politically and in a working-level manner, our party members should possess high political insight and working-level capability. At the same time, they should spontaneously take charge of difficult work ahead of others and positively encourage the masses of people to perform exploits.

It is important for party members, who occupy a leading position in today's struggle to accelerate the advance movement of the first year of the Third 7-Year Plan, upholding the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's historic policy speech, to assume a vanguard role. All party members should advance, always holding banners at the head of the advancing ranks with a high revolutionary spirit, party-mindedness, working class-mindedness, and people-mindedness.

Party functionaries should carry out organizational and political work in a flexible and skillful manner. Economic guidance functionaries should organize economic guidance and the work of supervising production activities in accordance with the requirement of the Tae'an work system and should carry out this work in an effective manner. Thus, they should bring about a high production upsurge in all sectors and units.

It is very important for party organizations at all levels to successfully carry out work with party members in helping them assume their role as vanguard fighters. Party organizations and functionaries at all levels should briskly move by deeply mingling with party members and effectively carry out work with them.

Party organizations should develop ideological indoctrination work by concentrating on deeply instilling in party members the profound idea and theory contained in the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's historic policy speech and in party documents. In particular, it is important for party members in primary party organizations to strengthen organizational life. It is also important for them to continuously strengthen training to develop their party-mindedness.

Primary party organizations should strengthen the indoctrination work of helping party members develop awareness concerning how to live and struggle in the challenging present era. At the same time, they should give assignments to aggressively forge ahead with the battle of the first year of the Third 7-Year Plan in accordance with tasks assigned to relevant sectors and units, and should routinely evaluate the status of the implementation of these assignments. Thus, they should help party members work in a militant manner with high political awareness and successfully perform their assigned revolutionary duty.

All party members should bring about a great upsurge in socialist construction and vigorously demonstrate the invincible might of our party by firmly uniting around the party Central Committee led by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song and by resolutely struggling in a manner worthy of members of the glorious WPK.

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CSO: 4100/198



## KPA BECOMES PRIVATE ARMY FOR TWO KIMS

Seoul NAEWOE TONGSIN in Korean No 534, 24 Apr 87 pp 1A-8A

[Text] Founding Date of Armed Forces Changed to 28 April

As is generally known, North Korea's "People's Army" was created on 8 February 1948 under the direction and control of the Soviet army for the purpose of communizing the South by force.

Since 1978, however, North Korea has changed the founding date of its army to 25 April 1932 at its own discretion, while rationalizing Kim Il-il-song's so-called "anti-Japanese struggle in arms." At the same time, it legitimized the Kims' father-and-son hereditary system and established a "political and military root" aimed at turning the soldiery into a private army of the Kims'.

Simultaneously, North Korea strengthened the activities of its political organizations within the military, such as the party and the Socialist Working Youth League (SWYL), and its political investigation force, such as the Protection Bureau and the Three Revolutions Teams (TRT), thereby converting the North Korean army even more into a private army of Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il.

## Actual Conditions of Kim Chong-il's Power in Military Circles

Kim Chong-il was selected as successor to Kim Il-song at the plenary session of the party's Central Committee in September 1973. Using his great official power as secretary of the KWP's Propaganda and Agitation Department, Kim Chong-il implemented measures to strengthen his position while concentrating on seizing military power.

Summarized below is how Kim Chong-il secured his military power

During the first stage (1973-75), Kim Chong-il replaced the regimental commanders and lower ranking commanders and some division commanders with younger people.

In other words, he lowered the age requirements to these: below 32 from the previous 30-40 range for company commanders, 32-35 from the 40-50

range for battalion commanders, and 35-40 from the 50-60 range for regimental commanders. At the same time, he posted his own confidants within military circles and established a support base for his hereditary system.

During the second stage (1976-80), he appointed a large number of rising individuals from the so-called "Man'gyongdae Institute of Revolution" to such distinguished military positions as members of the KWP's Military Affairs Committee, the KWP's military class commander, and minister and deputy minister of the People's Armed Forces. Moreover, in September 1979, he appointed the institute's first graduate, O Kuk-yol, to chief of the General Staff.

O Kuk-yol was born in 1931 in Killim, Manchuria, and was the first graduate of the "Man'gyongdae Institute of Revolution." Since then, he mastered aircraft operation techniques in Communist China (1950) and studied abroad at the Soviet Air Force Academy (1962). Then, from July 1968 to October 1977, he served in various key posts in the air force, including the post of air force commander. From November 1977 to August 1979, he worked as deputy chief of the General Staff. In September 1979, he won over the first deputy chief of the General Staff, Kim Chol-main (chief commander), and became the successor of the chief of the General Staff, O Chin-u. He was promoted to full general on 13 April 1985.

At the Sixth Convention of the party in October 1980, he was elected a member of the Political Bureau and a member of the Military Commission. Since he became a delegate to the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) in 1967, he was elected a delegate for his eighth term in November 1986.

Let's take a look at the relationship between the birth of O Kuk-yol and the two Kims. O Kuk-yol is a descendant of the so-called "Five Brothers of the Anti-Japanese Commandos," which was cooked up by North Korea to forge a sense of loyalty to the Kim Il-song family. (Some say he is O Chung-hup's son.) As a relative of the present Minister of the People's Armed Forces O Chin-u, he belongs to a core class. He won Kim Il-song's favor so much during his career that Kim Il-song even said: "He would make a good minister of the People's Armed Forces." Even today, he is winning the absolute confidence of the two Kims and is playing the role of a behind-the-scenes military power aimed at building a system designed to enable Kim Chong-il to succeed Kim Il-song. It is highly probable that he will be appointed minister of the People's Armed Forces in the near future.

During this period, those removed by Kim Chong-il from the military include Kim Chol-man, who was the first deputy chief of the General Staff (until September 1979); Yi Yong-mu, who was purged in 1977 from the position of general director of the Political Bureau; and Chang Chong-hang, who was deputy minister of the People's Armed Forces.

In addition, at the Sixth Convention of the KWP in October 1980, North Korea elected Kim Chong-il as a member of the KWP's Standing Committee, political member, secretary, and member of the Military Commission, thereby

transferring all the powers of the party, the government, and the military to Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il. Beginning in 1976, North Korea launched a Kim Chong-il support movement within the military circles, such as "study of Kim Chong-il's virtues" and "distribution of songs praising Kim Chong-il."

During the third stage (1981-present), North Korea assigned the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces and the Ministry of Public Security immediately to the KWP's Bureau of Secretary on 5 April 1982. (These agencies were reassigned under the Central People's Committee and the State Administration Council in the fall of 1985). Beginning in April 1982, North Korea enforced the movement of the so-called "Let All Us Soldiers Become the Kim Hyok's of the 1980's." (Kim Hyok is a fictitious character who is used in propaganda and who sacrificed his life for Kim Il-song in the middle of the 1930's. The movement urges all North Korean soldiers to render their unconditional loyalty to Kim Chong-il in the same way Kim Hyok had done for Kim Il-song.) Since the beginning of 1983, North Korea has been dispatching three members of the TRT to all units at the company level and above to eliminate all opposition circles. Moreover, on 13 April 1985, North Korea promoted Minister of the People's Armed Forces O Chin-u Marshal from full general and promoted eight chief commanders, including Chief of the General Staff O Kuk-yol, to full general.

In addition, North Korea has reportedly reorganized its key military organization by eliminating the following individuals from candidacy to the KWP's Political Bureau at the time of the election of delegates in November 1986; Deputy Minister of the People's Armed Forces Kim Ik-hyon (in 1983); Kim Du-nam (full general), who is a member of the KWP's Military Commission; and Kim Kang-hwan (lieutenant general), who is both a member and chief of the Military Commission.

High-ranking military officials, including O Kuk-yol, speak openly: "Soldiers of the People's Army should thoroughly support and protect the center of the party (Kim Chong-il) politically and spiritually." (From O Kuk-yol's speech of 24 April 1983.) Thus, they are openly displaying Kim Chong-il's control of military power.

#### Activities of Political Organizations Within the Military

When the North Korean "People's Army" was founded on 8 February 1948, there was not a single political organization (such as the party and youth organizations) within the military units. Only the "cultural director" was there to take charge of cultural and recreational events.

This is because the dominating principle within the ruling class of North Korea at that time was: "The People's Army is not the party's army but an army for reunification," which was advocated by Kim Du-bong. In addition, a friendly-party policy was utilized for political reasons although it was done for the sake of formality. Moreover, in essence, today's dictatorship and dogmatic conduct by the two Kims could not be allowed at that time.

That's precisely because Kim Il-song's real power in all areas, including political and military, was weak.

However, since it provoked the anti-national Korean War, North Korea created the "General Political Bureau" within the military based on the reasoning that soldiers needed education in political ideology. North Korea appointed Pak Hon-yong, who was then the party's vice chairman and deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs, to the bureau's first director. Further, by establishing the Youth Work Department under the bureau, North Korea made the party and the SWYL, which was called the Democratic Youth League at that time, a unique political organization within the military.

Since the truce of July 1953, North Korea liquidated the so-called friendly parties, including the "Young Friends Party" and the "Democratic Party," thereby strengthening the KWP's control so that the military would function under the direction of the KWP.

In addition, in January 1969, North Korea purged high-ranking military officials, including General Kim Chang-bong, who was then minister of national defense (now called the minister of the People's Armed Forces), General Political Bureau, and Lieutenant General Kim Chong-tae, who was reconnaissance director, based on the accusations that they were "warlord-bureaucrats." Thus, North Korea further strengthened both the party's political control and the activities of its political executives (party executives).

Moreover, since September 1973, when Kim Chong-il made his entry, North Korea has been reinforcing control over brainwashing by political organizations, such as the party and the SWYL, within the military, while at the same time strengthening surveillance and political investigations by the TRT and the Protection Bureau.

Through the strengthening of such political and ideological brainwashing, control, and surveillance within the military, North Korea is eliminating anti-hereditary powers while turning the North Korean soldiers into a private army of Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il.

The head of the General Political Bureau, which administers the business of the party and the SWYL (political organizations within the military), is O Jin-u, who is also minister of the People's Armed Forces. Since O Jin-u is in the hospital because of a traffic accident in September last year, Chief Commander Yi Bong-won is presently acting in his capacity. At the same time, organizations of the party and the SWYL are reinforcing the control and brainwashing of soldiers through various meetings, political seminars and lectures, and life integration meetings (formerly criticism meetings).

As a result, as witnessed by the former staff sergeant Yu Chon-su of the Eighth Division of the North Korean Army, who bravely defected on 7 March

to South Korea in search of freedom, North Korean soldiers have grown resistant and sick of military life because of such repetitious brainwashing control, and surveillance, and because of the long 7-10 years of military service and the denial of privileges such as leave and living outside of the barracks. Nevertheless, North Korean soldiers cannot express their discontent, but must live as if they were exalting their loyalty to the two Kims.

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## NONFERROUS METAL PRODUCTION TARGETED FOR THIRD 7-YEAR PLAN

SK161051 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1010 GMT 16 Jul 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 16 July (KCNA)--More than 1.7 million tons of nonferrous metal a year are targeted at during the Third 7-Year Plan (1987-1993) in Korea.

In the plan period, nonferrous metal output will be radically boosted with efforts concentrated on promising mines in Komdok and Tanchon Districts, the Yanggang Provincial District and other areas with inexhaustible deposits of ores of high content rate.

And nonferrous metal mines large in scale will be developed in different areas.

The output of aluminum and aluminum alloy will leap to 400,000 tons in the period.

Korean nonferrous metal industry is advancing at an amazing pace in reliance upon modern production bases. Hundreds of thousands of tons of lead and zinc are turned out annually to be exported after meeting the home demands.

Vast is the prospect open before the Komdok District with rich deposits of zinc and lead ores of high content rate. At the gigantic Komdok General Mining Enterprise Dressing Plant No 3 with an annual capacity of 10 million tons was commissioned in 1983, and tens of cutting faces and a crushing ground with a capacity of millions of tons have been created and the transport capacity has been multiplied in recent years there. In a decade-long period the dressing capacity of the enterprise has been augmented 5 times and transport capacity 6 times. Now one or two blastings are enough to excavate the same amount of ores as was turned out in a whole year before liberation.

During the new long-term plan period, the enterprise will produce hundreds of thousands of tons of lead and zinc annually.

Projects for the expansion of the capacity of nonferrous ore mines in Tanchon District and Ryanggang, South Pyongan and North Hwanghae Provinces have been energetically pressed ahead to lift the output of lead, zinc, copper and gold.

In the meantime, the capacity of the existing smelteries has grown and new modern smelteries such as the North Pyongan and Tachon smelteries have been constructed to sharply boost the output of nonferrous metals.

The nonferrous metal industry of Korea is now making a fast progress by relying on its own rich raw material resources and technology and modern means of production.

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CSO: 4100/0288

## TEAM MANAGEMENT SYSTEM OPERATIONAL IN RURAL ECONOMY

Pyongyang MINJU CHOSON in Korean 10 May 87 p 2

[Article by headquarters company reporter T'ak Chae-sop: "In the Days When the Sub-Section Workteam Management System Was Established"]

[Text] Twenty years have passed since the time when the sub-section workteam management system, which was created by the great leader, took effect.

Experiences in the past 20-odd years clearly attest to the fact that the management system using sub-section workteams as key units and cells of collective life in agricultural production, has been accurately implemented and further strengthened in the management and operation of the large-scale socialist cooperative economy. It highly displays the superiority of the socialist rural economy, and enables agricultural production to take bold leaps forward.

Comrade Kim Il-song, the great leader, taught as follows:

"The sub-section workteam management system, which took effect for the first time in our country thanks to the original initiative taken by our party, is a great form of production organization which enables farmers to take active part in the management and operation of collective life, and also to display the spirit of collectivism with high consciousness as the masters of joint management. It represents a most reasonable organization of collective life which spreads communist thought among farmers."

Indeed, the thought and theory of implementing the sub-section workteam management system, which the great leader set forth on the basis of chuche-oriented stand and his rich experiences in the socialist rural economy, are the thought and theory that provide scientific solution to the problem of fundamentally improving and strengthening the development of a socialist rural economy. It is a programmatic plan designed to open new and innovative doors to solve difficult and complicated rural problems.

Today we are looking back with deep emotion at the historical days when the great leader set forth an original plan of implementing the sub-section workteam management system and judiciously led the implementation of the system.



Following the announcement of the agrarian thesis, a program for building up the socialist rural villages, set forth by the great leader, a great number of changes took place in rural villages of our country.

The great Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method became more embedded with each passing day. The new system of agricultural guidance was further strengthened; and agricultural production was guided with a business enterprise-oriented method.

Our rural villages forcefully marched ahead in their struggle for implementing the agrarian thesis.

However, in the realistic life of our unceasingly developing rural villages, there was another cord that had to be cut in order to move ahead.

That was the cord resulting from the superiority of large-scale socialist cooperative economy, on one hand, and farmers' outdated ideological consciousness and the low level of management and operation of management functionaries, on the other.

The large-scale collective economy, compared with the small-scale individual economy, is enormously superior both in implementing technological revolution and in effecting division of labor and socialist cooperative production.

However, that superiority can be fully displayed only when it is reinforced by high self-conscious enthusiasm of members of farm collectives and the standard of management which enables the large-scale economy to be operated in a planned and organized way in conformity with the socialist collective economy.

But what was the reality in rural villages of our country in the 1960's?

When cooperative farms were consolidated by the ri unit, their scale was greatly expanded, the material and technological foundation of the rural economy was strengthened with the support of the state, and the system of the state guidance over rural economy was established in good order. However, the level of management and operation of farm management functionaries was not yet raised up to that level and, in addition, the level of ideological consciousness of farmers was low.

Without raising the level of management and operation of cooperative farm management functionaries, and the level of ideological consciousness of farmers, it was impossible for the superiority of large-scale socialist rural economy to be displayed and for agricultural production to continually increase.

The problem of correctly setting forth the unit and scale of productive organization and collective life posed itself as an urgent demand that had to be met right away as the overall socialist cooperative economy expanded and developed.

The great leader, who always brilliantly shows the way our rural villages must go with his extraordinary wisdom and insight, clearly showed a unique

direction and concrete method of solving that urgent problem that confronted the large-scale socialist rural economy.

On the basis of his experiences earned in the process in which he set forth "the thesis on the socialist agrarian problems in our country" and rendered judicious leadership, the great leader mapped out a plan for implementing a sub-section workteam system, a new form of accounting in the management and operation of cooperative farms, and launched guidance to bring it to fruition.

As he always did, the great leader, in dealing with the problem of implementing the sub-section workteam system, too, created it among the farmers who were directly in charge of agricultural production and in the realities in which life was quickly moving.

On 11 May 1965, while conducting on-the-spot guidance in Kangwon Province, the great leader visited P'och'on-ri, a mountain village some distance along a mountain lane from Hoeyang-up, which is located beyond the high Ch'oryong [range].

Although, it is a fact that the respected and beloved leader has touched with his benevolent hands all parts of our country, despite his busy schedule, the great leader traveled over a steep mountain range to visit this remote mountain village. When the farm commune members thought of his visit their hearts were filled with deep emotion and their eyes with tears. They were overcome.

That day the great leader sat together with members of the farm in a humble classroom of the middle school, and had a talk with them about the farming situation and the livelihood of the farm members of that village.

That day, the great leader, reaching a concrete understanding about the grain production there, clearly showed them a method of increasing the per chongbo output of paddy and dry fields.

The great leader instructed, in the case of paddy fields in mountainous areas, if they are arranged in a spiral form and tractors plow them deep and in a contour fashion, less weeds will grow and tractors will be able to plow more. And, rice planting, too, if it is planted in squares, weeding between rice plants can be done by a machine.

Understanding the actual situation in P'och'on-ri, the great leader analyzed in detail the structure of work teams and sub-section workteams and the status of their management and operation. In that process, he clearly showed that there was a definite discord between the large-scale collective economy and the level of management and operation of functionaries of the farm and the level of ideological consciousness of farmers.

Even looking only at the structure of work teams and sub-section workteams and their organizational scale, one could tell that the situation was such that functionaries of the farm were not able to solve pending problems on the spot. To wit, at that time, a work team had around 130 to 140 members and a sub-section workteam also had almost 30 members--a rather large size. And a sub-

section workteam could launch independent activities under these conditions and not as a production unit. Thus, there was a great deal of loss caused by the work team heads having to organize farming operations for a large number of personnel and operational projects.

It was hard for management functionaries of cooperative farms to skillfully deal with all of their work, including the organization of production, labor management, and farming tool management, because of their position in the hierarchy of management and operation and the too large size of work teams and sub-section workteams. Moreover, it was impossible for them to make members of the farm correctly understand the fact that the collective economy is their economy.

It was a very significant cord that had to be cut in the socialist rural construction following the establishment of a socialist system.

However, this problem was one that nobody could correctly identify nor solve.

Only the great leader had insight into the problem posed by this era. He clearly showed anew the uniqueness of his ability to solve it.

The great leader gave thought to rural villages throughout the country based on his knowledge of the status of the P'och'on Cooperative Farm. He stated that the realities of today, with the large size of farms, with the material and technological foundation of agriculture stronger, and in which a new system of agricultural guidance was neatly established, make it imperative that units of labor organization and the organization for daily life should be established so that the guidance level of functionaries may be raised and the collective responsibility and role of all members of farm cooperatives regarding the joint economy be enhanced. Then he said that such a unit may be a sub-workteam, pointing out that the sub-section workteam system must be implemented.

The great leader laid down details of requirements for a sub-section workteam as follows: it shall be organized in conformity with the technological level of the cooperative farm and with the level of management and operation of functionaries of the farm; it shall be organized not so large or not so small so that farmers may take part in the joint management self-consciously; a sub-section workteam shall be permanently equipped with a certain area of paddy and dry fields, labor, draft animals, and farming machines and tools; production assignments shall be given to it; work achievements of sub-section workteam members shall be evaluated on the basis of the degree of fulfillment of the assignments; and a bigger distribution share shall be given in accordance with the results of implementation of the plan.

Functionaries and members of the farm cooperative accepted those measures as very homey truths believing that only the great leader could solve the urgent problems posed by the era.

Since that time, the sub-section workteam system has been in effect for the first time in our country.

At the 12th session of the 4th plenum of the party Central Committee held in November of that year, the great leader took the judicious measure of introducing a complete the sub-section workteam system on the basis of his summary and analysis of the experiences earned in implementing the system in some regions.

In this way, from 1966 on, the sub-section workteam system was introduced in all cooperative farms in all regions.

By implementing the sub-section workteam system, which represents the most rational and creative form of production and labor organization to further enhance the guidance level of management functionaries of cooperative farms and extraordinarily enhance farmers' collectivist spirit and their responsibility for agricultural production, the great leader opened up a broad avenue to display the superiority of the socialist rural economy system.

The great leader, who saw to it that the sub-section workteam system would be implemented in all rural villages, unceasingly conducted his on-the-spot guidance at rural villages in order to display the superiority and vitality of the system. He had a deep understanding of the state of implementation of the sub-section workteam system and further developed it.

Even today when more than 20 years later, the episode that occurred on that day, and has been remembered since, is deeply enshrined in the hearts of our agricultural workers.

On 5 May 1966, the year after he conducted an on-the-spot guidance at P'och'on-ri, Hoeyang County, the great leader visited Hukkyo-ri, Hwangju County to see how the sub-section workteam system was being implemented there and gave instructions regarding how to correctly implement the system.

Pointing out that an important task confronting the sub-section workteam is to comply completely with the principle governing socialist distribution, the great leader cited basic problems arising in implementing the sub-section workteam management system. Then he said that it is difficult for a work team to exercise control over members of the farm, but that it is easy for a sub-section workteam to give concrete assignments to members of the farm cooperative, that it is also easy for the sub-section workteam to evaluate the work, and that under the system, all members of the farm cooperative can self-consciously implement the work assigned to them.

On that day, the great leader taught that the superiority of the sub-section workteam management system is in the fact that it is an excellent form of accounting in which members of the farm cooperative can be indoctrinated in communist thought and have the spirit of collectivism instilled in them.

In January 1968, 2 years later, the great leader visited T'onghwa Cooperative Farm, Yongbyon County, and had a talk with members of the farm cooperative to discuss the management and operation of the farm and farming work.

Meeting with functionaries of that ri party branch and of the farm there, heads of work teams, and heads of sub-section workteams, the great leader

asked the following questions in detail: How many members of the farm are there in a sub-section workteam, and, among them, how many males, and how many females; what are the good points of the sub-section workteam system; and how many members do you think are optimum for a sub-section workteam? He then clearly showed concrete ways of more efficiently implementing the sub-section workteam system.

On that day, the great leader said that a sub-section workteam is like a squad in the army and then he again emphasized that a sub-section workteam should be organized with an optimal number of members.

And on 14 February or 1 month after that, the great leader personally convened a convention of agricultural functionaries throughout the country and drew a historical conclusion entitled: "On accurately implementing the sub-section workteam system and effecting a fresh upsurge in agricultural production."

In his conclusion, the great leader scientifically analyzed and summarized the revolutionary essential character and superiority of the sub-section workteam system, which was introduced on an overall basis into the cooperative farms in our country, and which displayed its tremendous vitality. He then set forth concrete methods of displaying its superiority and vitality in a fuller measure.

The great leader taught that the sub-section workteam system is not a means of simply increasing material incentives but a reasonable organization cell of collective life to enhance the growth of communist thought in rural villages.

No doubt, the sub-section workteam system plays the role, to a certain extent, of enhancing material interest in production. However, the more essential role is to further strengthen farmers' collective life. In the process of struggling for developing large-scale collective accounting, members of the sub-section workteam further unite as one; and their responsibility and attitude toward joint accounting is enhanced unceasingly.

Thus the sub-section workteam system is not transitional in its nature. It is a form of production organization, a cell of collective life, which will continuously remain even after the cooperative ownership becomes the ownership of the entire people.

How many glorious days has the great leader conducted on-the-spot guidances over rural villages throughout the country, solved many problems arising in introducing the sub-section workteam system, and given clear-cut answers to those urgent problems which, in reality, had to be solved-- they are really innumerable.

When the sub-section workteam system was introduced in full measure into rural villages throughout our country under the judicious leadership of the great leader, a new agricultural guidance system was established in good order even all the way down to the basic unit.

The superiority and vitality of the sub-section workteam system, which is a form of accounting, came to bloom more fully with each passing day thanks to the judicious leadership of the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il.

Under the judicious leadership of the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il, the sub-section workteam system was accurately implemented in rural villages of our country and consequently tremendous changes took place in the political and moral life of farmers.

When the scale of collective life was set forth optimally and members of the farm cooperative took part in joint labor and community life, members of the sub-section workteam came to better know the personal character and to have a deeper understanding of one another; and consequently the collectivist spirit of helping and leading one another was highly enhanced. And the self-consciousness taught by the master led all members of the sub-section workteam to take joint responsibility for the agricultural production plan assigned to it.

In the past when production and labor were organized in terms of a large-scale work team, the collective life seemed to be well organized on the surface because large groups moved around. But, in reality, farmers could not regard the collective accounting as their own. However, after the sub-section workteam management system took effect, production and daily activities were carried out on the basis of a sub-section workteam as a unit; everybody took collective responsibility for the development of joint accounting; everybody put the work of his sub-section workteam higher than his own work. They developed a great interest in improving and stepping up production activities. The communist lifestyle, in which people worked in compliance with the party slogan "One for all, and all for one!" came into full bloom.

Moreover, how competently was the political and organizational life of agricultural workers organized?

The scale of collective life was rationally organized and consequently political propaganda and economic agitation could be launched more actively regardless of time and place. Not only management functionaries of cooperative farms but also heads of work teams and all primary functionaries could go out to actual work sites so that they may imbue minds of agricultural workers in time with instructions of the great leader and the party policies which are the embodiment of the great leader's instructions.

This data attests to the fact that the sub-section workteam system, which the great leader himself projected and which was implemented in full measure under the leadership of the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il, is a most rational form of organization of labor and production and best fits the degree of development of technology in rural villages of our country. It also fits the level of consciousness of farmers and the guidance level of management functionaries of the farm, and is a strong propelling power that enables the guidance, management, and operation of the rural economy to be improved and that enables agricultural production to be unceasingly increased through the enhancement of the level of ideological consciousness of farm members.

The sub-section workteam system, which the great leader created and which the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il has been leading, is an important guarantee for accelerating socialist rural construction more forcefully and thereby for attaining a complete victory of socialism in rural villages.

Today the stupendous vitality of the sub-section workteam system in our rural villages is more successfully displayed in all arenas with each passing day.

All the factors taking part in agricultural production, plant breeding that fits the soil and climate, supplying water at the proper period in crop growth, scientific fertilization system, and rational utilization of machines and labor, have come to function, like organic matter, even in the sub-section workteam, a basic unit; and the management and operation of cooperative farms are becoming more and more plan-oriented and organization-oriented.

The full implementation of the sub-section workteam system enabled in particular all forces of cooperative farms to be concentrated in farming work, enabling the work of labor administration, which is a central [factor] in managing and operating farms, to be decisively improved. At the same time, the utilization of labor has become more and more plan-oriented and organization-oriented. And accordingly the number of days of operation and earned days of labor of farm members has increased; and forces have become concentrated in the field of capital production. The life style befitting the master of farm members has been further enhanced and the labor management of sub-section workteams has been efficiently organized; thus labor has become capable of doing more work. And today that style has been expanded further: the rank and file of sub-section workteams, work teams, and cooperative farms, which are farming on their own without receiving social assistance labor in compliance with the party slogan "Paddies of the farm are our paddies!" are being increased with each passing day.

Moreover, in rural villages in our country today, huge groups of strong technicians have been brought up and are launching activities in the center, provinces, cities, counties, cooperative farms, work teams, and sub-section workteams. Thus agricultural production is carried out scientifically and technologically in conformity with the requirements for the chuche-oriented farming method and bumper crops are made year after year.

Today our agricultural workers, further strengthening the sub-section workteam system, which the great leader created and which the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il is leading, are energetically marching ahead along the proud road in order to show in full bloom the superiority and vitality of the system, and to attain the grain plan set forth in the Third 7-Year Plan, upholding the banner of the Three Revolutions--ideological, technological, and cultural--in the direction set forth by this agrarian thesis.

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CSO: 4110/163

## PAPER DENOUNCES U.S.-JAPAN POINT COMMAND EXERCISE

SK170650 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0606 GMT 17 Jul 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 17 July (KCNA)--MINJU CHOSON today denounces the U.S.-Japan joint commanding exercise.

Noting that the joint commanding exercise participated in by many ranking military personnel of Japanese ground, naval and air "self-defense forces" and U.S. forces in Japan will be held under the joint command of the chairman of the Joint Staff Council of the Japanese "Self-Defence Forces" and the commander of the U.S. forces in Japan, the author of the commentary says:

This is a danger signal to complete the long-projected Japan-U.S. joint military action and ignite a war of aggression at any cost.

The U.S. and Japan reactionaries are mobilizing many personnel and major objects than ever before in this joint commanding exercise.

In mobilizing many ranking commanding personnel in the joint commanding exercise, they seek to complete the operational commanding system and ensure the integration of U.S. and Japanese military action in "contingency."

It is by no means accidental that this time the Japanese and U.S. reactionaries are holding the exercise by generally mobilizing the Central Commanding Post of the Japanese "Self Defence Forces" and the Commanding Post of U.S. Forces.

These posts are the base of war strategy and commanding posts of nuclear war the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries have built by spending a fabulous amount of funds for years to expand the war manoeuvres against our republic and other socialist countries. It is a known fact that these war commanding posts are directly linked with the headquarters of the U.S. imperialist aggression forces occupying South Korean and established a single unified operational command system with the latter.

Synchronizing with the Japan-U.S. joint commanding exercise, the U.S. Marines in Okinawa started a shooting exercise and even the tactical control element of the U.S. Air Force occupying South Korean flew there to hold the military exercise. All this is aimed at prosecuting a new war, a nuclear war in Korea.



## ANNIVERSARY OF NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION MARKED AT MEETING

SK170549 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0538 GMT 17 Jul 87

[Text] Pyongyang 17 July (KCNA)--A meeting was held in Pyongyang on 16 July to mark the eighth anniversary of the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution.

It was attended by O Mun-han, vice-chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations with foreign Countries and vice-chairman of the Korea-Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, other officials concerned and working people in the city.

Present at the meeting on invitation were Jose Benito, charge d'affaires ad interim, and officials of the of the Nicaraguan embassy in Pyongyang.

Addressing the meeting, O Mun-han said the victory of the Sandinist Revolution in Nicaragua was a historical event which put a termination to the pro-American dictatorial regime, he continued:

Today the Nicaraguan people, firmly rallied around the Sandinist National Liberation Front and Government headed by esteemed President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, are dynamically struggling to accelerate the building of a new society and achieve the independent development of the country under the difficult conditions created by the U.S. imperialists' ever-intensified moves of aggression, blockade and isolation.

He denounced the U.S. imperialists for desperately trying to stifle the Nicaraguan Revolution in its cradle and maintain their domination over Central America. The Korean people will in the future, too, as in the past, will extend positive support and encouragement to the Nicaraguan people in their just struggle, standing firm on their side, he said with emphasis.

Speaking next, Jose Benito reaffirmed the firm support of the Nicaraguan Government and people to the proposal for holding North-South high-level political and military talks and the proposal for cohosting the 24th Olympic Games, which were advanced by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

He also voiced positive support to the statement made public by the Foreign Ministry of the DPRK with regard to the practical measures to convert the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone and firmly guarantee its position.

## EDITORIAL LOOKS TOWARD UNIFIED KOREA

Pyongyang MINJU CHOSON in Korean 19 Apr 87 p 3

[Editorial: "Paper Comments on 1960 Student Revolution"]

[Text] Today is the 27th anniversary of the April uprising by the people of South Korea.

The peoples' uprising in April 1960 was a patriotic struggle of great significance in the South Korean peoples' history of anti-American and anti-fascist struggle to save their country.

The uprising that had originated in the struggle of the citizens of Masan City against the irregular 15 March election spread rapidly throughout all of South Korea including Seoul, Pusan, Kwangju, and Taegu, and turned into a struggle of the entire people involving the masses of several millions from all walks of life.

After proclaiming emergency martial law, both the U.S. imperialist and the puppet cliques ruthlessly oppressed the peaceful demonstrators by mobilizing all controlling mechanisms ranging from heavily armed military forces and police to tanks and armored vehicles. The young students and the people, who had courageously come forward for the struggle for democracy, finally succeeded in overthrowing the Syngman Rhee's puppet government by waging a desperate and bloody battle.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song gave the following instruction.

"The uprising in South Korea has demonstrated that whatever threat they may give by use of rifles or bayonets, and whatever deceptive schemes they may use, they can never keep the people as slaves in bondage for long, nor can they prevent the people from waging their revolutionary struggle." ("A Collection of Kim Il-song's Works," p 233, Vol 14).

The people's uprising in April was an outburst of the anger of the South Korean people against the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee's puppet regime, and also their just struggle for freedom, liberation, new politics, and new life.

The South Korean people demonstrated their heroic spirit to the entire world through this uprising, and also proved that when an entire people come together to fight bravely, and oppose tyranny, they are able to tear down any kind of enemies' stronghold.

Those who were involved in the April uprising overthrew the puppet regime by waging a bloody battle, but none of their just demands have been met thus far by the U.S. imperialists.

Whenever the South Korean people's struggle for sovereignty, democracy, and unification intensified, and their colonialist, militarist, and fascist rulers confronted a serious crisis, the U.S. imperialists stepped up their oppression of the patriotic democratic forces.

Immediately following the fall of the Syngman Rhee's regime owing to the April uprising, the U.S. imperialists concocted the "Restoration" system by staging a maneuver to install the puppet Park Chong-hee military gang, and then violated and trampled the human rights as well as the civil rights of the people more ruthlessly than ever. The "Restoration" dictators, after having been overthrown through the violent struggle of the people, turned the entire society into a more fascist one by contriving a more vicious military dictatorial "regime," which exceeded by far the oppression of the preceding dictators.

In order to impede the anti-U.S. campaign for sovereignty, and anti-fascist campaign for democratization, which are newly developing in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists are scheming both directly and indirectly by applying the double-pronged tactics of conciliation and blackmail. By supporting the clique of the puppet Chon Tu-hwan, the U.S. imperialists used both guns and sabres to subdue the students' anti-U.S. struggle for independence as well as the anti-U.S. struggle for democratization. Then, they took an approach of conciliation and deception to divide and dissolve the opposing political and democratic forces.

While violating the people's right for sovereignty, and impeding the development of democracy in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists are threatening the peace of Korea, and objecting desperately to the peaceful unification.

The U.S. imperialists, while making a fuss about the "military threat from the North," which does not even exist, continue to conduct adventurous war exercises by increasing the armed power of the U.S. forces, which are occupying South Korea by force, and by bringing in weapons and military equipment including nuclear arms.

The "Team Spirit 87," a joint military exercise, which the U.S. imperialists conducted starting in the middle of February committed more than 200,000 military personnel, modern combat weapons, and equipment. It is an experimental exercise in warfare to test and complete a range of preparations for military capabilities which can be used to mount a pre-emptive attack on the northern part of the Republic.

The U.S. imperialists are persistently clinging to a plot to forge "Two Koreas," such as "simultaneous UN admissions," "cross-recognition," and "cross-contact."

The U.S. imperialists are drawing the Japanese reactionaries into their aggressive policy toward Korea. It originated with the aggressive policies of the U.S. imperialists demanding that the tripartite treaty for military alliance among the United States, Japan, and South Korea be stepped up, and the Japanese reactionaries are maneuvering flagrantly on the international stage.

While saying that it is "hoping" for the democratic development of the South Korean society, and the unification of Korea, both in practice and deed, the U.S. imperialists are supporting the fascist military regime of Chon Tu-hwan with "power," and also covering and condoning its acts in violation of human rights. And the U.S. imperialists are increasing the danger of war, and constantly intensifying the situation on the Korean Peninsula.

The fascist military regime of Chon Tu-hwan is increasing its despotic structure, and power on instructions from its mentors, the U.S. imperialists, and also flagrantly scheming to accomplish its ambition of perpetual power by intensifying its tyranny.

Recently, the puppet Chon Tu-hwan, announcing the so-called "special address," his attempt to remain in power.

In the "special address," the puppet traitor, referring to the division of the opposition party, babbled on about a "transfer of government" on the basis of the existing fascist "constitution."

The puppet who had insisted on "constitutional reform for a parliamentary cabinet system" while preaching a "great compromise between the pro-government and opposition forces" and "constitutional reform through consensus" decided to go ahead on the basis of the existing "constitution," and conduct the "transfer of the power" under the pretext that it has become impossible to achieve constitutional reform through consensus because of the division within the opposition party, and also because of the pressure of the political timetable. Such a decision amounts to a formal announcement of the retention of power by the Democratic Justice Party, and also amounts to a sort of political coup d'etat.

Moreover, the puppet Chon Tu-hwan openly threatened and blackmailed those young students and democratic figures demanding constitutional reform to provide for a direct election system, saying in the "special address" that any behavior not in compliance with the will of the DJP will be considered an "act of creating social disorder," and severely punished.

Simultaneously with the announcement of the puppet traitor's "special address," the bosses at the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Security Police Headquarters, and the prosecution also launched an all-out

offensive to subdue the people by, day in, day out, issuing orders of oppression.

The situation resembles the time immediately following the 19 April incident when the preceding dictator madly set about oppressing the people after proclaiming martial law.

The puppet clique, who have lost their heads concerning anticommunism, are inspiring a war mind set, and antagonism in the people, and insanely pushing their preparations for war forward, while crying out for a "confrontation" with us.

As long as the U.S. imperialists remain in South Korea, and their colonial rule continues, the people of South Korea will never enjoy true freedom, and rights, nor protect their national dignity and sovereignty, nor free themselves from all kinds of misery and sufferings. This is a grim lesson learned from the April uprising and its later developments.

Now, the young students, as well as the people of South Korea, are advancing in a just struggle of resistance with a firm resolve to realize by all means their wish for new politics and new life, which the brave fighters of 19 April cried out for even as they collapsed and shed their blood.

Those, who have become aware through actual experiences that national sovereignty, democracy, and peaceful unification can never be achieved unless the U.S. imperialists are driven out of South Korea and their colonial rule comes to an end, are directing the brunt of their attack toward the U.S. imperialists, and coupling their anti-U.S. save-the-nation struggle with the anti-fascist struggle for democratization.

Both the young students and the people of South Korea will step forward more bravely in the struggle to end the forced military occupation and the colonial rule of the U.S. imperialists and by holding higher the anti-U.S. banner for democratization, which they are already holding up.

No matter what kind of fascist tyrannic scheme, conciliation and deception they may use, both the U.S. imperialists and the puppet clique of Chon Tu-hwan cannot break the stern determination of the South Korean people, who are willing to bring about a new sovereign society, and democratic world without foreign forces of aggression, and fascist dictators, nor can they stop the just movement for advancement.

The most important and pressing question, which we are faced with today, is to create preconditions whereby both peace and peaceful unification of our country can be achieved.

We have already introduced, as a basic measure for guaranteeing the peace of the Korean Peninsula, a proposal to convene a tripartite conference with us, the United States and South Korea participating. This conference would be for the purpose of converting the Korean truce agreement into a peace agreement

and adopting a declaration of non-aggression between the North and the South, and opening a parliamentary conference between the North and the South. Subsequently, we have taken measures not to host military exercises so as to reduce tension, and to create an atmosphere favorable for dialogue and unification. We have also set forth a proposal to convene military conferences between both concerned parties along with a proposal to transform the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear free zone and peaceful zone, and to hold a high level politico-military conference.

All of our proposals are consistently supported and welcomed by the peace-loving people of the world, not to mention the entire people of Korea because they are rational proposals for a new phase of peaceful unification, and relieve the acute state of political confrontation and tense military situation. They also create an atmosphere for detente and dialogue.

If the authorities in South Korea wish, from the bottom- of their hearts, for peace as well as peaceful unification of the country, they should refrain from taking reckless actions which will intensify political confrontation and the tense military situation. They should assume a position of sincerity and move toward dialogue.

The U.S. imperialists should immediately withdraw from South Korea and abandon their policy of aggression and war, and withdraw all of their murderous weapons including their invading forces and nuclear weapons.

The unification of the fatherland is a project in the interest of the nation, and also a pan-national project, which the entire people can only realize by combining their strength firmly for the fight.

All Korean brethren in the North as well as South, and abroad, should rally solidly under the banner of liberation of the fatherland by transcending the differences of thought, ideology, system, and religion. They should come forward united for the sacred struggle to crush the challenge, war, and perennial divisive scheme of both the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs, and to realize the idea of founding the Confederation of the Korean Republics.

By upholding the historic policy address, which the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song made at the first session of the Eighth Supreme People's Assembly, the people of the northern part of the Republic should strengthen the base of our revolution and launch more vigorously the three revolutions, ideological, technological, and cultural, and make rapid progress, and reforms in all fronts of socialist construction.

Our people, who are marching forward by upholding the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, and also by following the leadership of the party will definitely achieve the independent and peaceful unification of the fatherland, which is the greatest national desire.

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## PYONGYANG ON CHON-NO CLIQUE'S 'TWO-PRONGED TRICK'

SK110738 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 1150 GMT 7 Jul 87

[Commentary by station commentator Chong Pong-kil: "The Murderers Will Not Be Able To Avoid Responsibility"]

[Text] In connection with the death of student Yi Han-yol, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring is now resorting to a two-pronged trick of trying to appease and deceive the people on one hand and of threatening them on the other hand. When student Yi Han-yol died, the rascals raised a fuss by sending a wreath and expressing condolences. Raising an investigation commotion, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring has raved that it will cooperate with a funeral service for he deceased if the bereaved family requests it. This is the brazen act of murderers.

As is already known, student Yi Han-yol participated in a demonstration with his fellow students on 9 June when the country seethed with the anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle. He sustained a fatal injury from a tear gas canister that was fired by police forces the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring had mobilized to suppress the people. He died 27 days later.

The Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring is the ringleader which, in order to maintain and prolong the fascist, dictatorial, and colonial ruling system and which has had vast police forces randomly fire tear gas canisters at peaceful demonstrators, injured a large number of people by wielding clubs and killed the patriotic student. It is outrageous for such a murderer to send a wreath to the deceased and to babble about condolences. The Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring has performed this trick to prevent the explosion of the resentment of the South Korean students and people, with the death of student Yi Han-yol as the momentum. However, the crime committed by the devilish murderer is too great to appease public opinion with such petty guile. Calling for exercising vigilance against the move to politically use the death of student Yi Han-yol, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring has revealed its scheme of strengthening the fascist suppression of the students and the people. On 5 July the puppet administration and the DJP discussed the government's countermeasures for the death of student Yi Han-yol and said that they would prevent this incident from being used for political purposes. This is a vow to block with bayonets the advance of the students and the people who were enraged by the death of Yi Han-yol.

The fascist clique has, in fact, hindered the movement of students and people by mobilizing tyrannical forces. Hearing the sad news on the death of student Yi Han-yol, Yonsei University students, including the fellow students of the deceased, on 5 July gathered on the campus and in the hospital where the body of the deceased lay. Hearing this, the fascist clique encircled the campus and the hospital by mobilizing more than 4,000 riot-suppressing police forces and committed the barbarous act of arresting scores of students by randomly firing tear gas canisters and wielding clubs.

The devilish murderers who brutally killed patriotic student Yi Han-yol by firing tear gas canisters--the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring, which again ordered that tear gas canisters be fired at students who gathered to mourn his death--is a group of a felonious, devilish murderers and fascist tyrants.

The Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring is uneasy about the death of student Yi Han-yol because the students and the people have recently raised their voices, urging the ring to fulfill its verbal pledge at the earliest possible date. After promising the people it would revise the constitution in favor of a direct presidential election system, release detainees, and grant amnesty and effect reinstatement, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring has raved that political development has been attained in South Korea. However, nothing has been put into practice; the ring has made time drag. This shows that the rascals are trying to find a way to survive by whetting the sword of tyranny to overcome a crisis. Because of this, the South Korean students and people demand that the pledge be put into practice at the earliest possible date, shouting, "The announcement by No Tae-u is a sham," and "The people should not be deceived by No Tae-u." Fearing that resentment and rancor against the fascist clique will explode simultaneously at this critical moment, with the death of student Yi Han-yol as the momentum, the rascals are further resorting to a two-pronged trick of trying to appease the people on one hand and of threatening them on the other hand. However, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring will not be able to avoid responsibility for being a felonious murderer which has killed Yi Han-yol, nor can it conceal its true color as a fascist tyrant.

The South Korean students and people will not have student Yi Han-yol's death be futile and will bring an end to the fascist colonial ruling system of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges by struggling tenaciously and upholding the banner of the anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle for independence and for democracy.

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CSO: 4110/208



## DAILY DENOUNCES BLOCKADE OF YI HAN-YOL'S FUNERAL

SK120740 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2151 GMT 8 Jul 87

[NODONG SINMUN 9 July commentary: "Unchangeable Nature of Murderers"]

[Text] The South Korean puppets are showing alarming moves in connection with the sacrifice of Yi Han-yol, a Yonsei University student who hovered between life and death for nearly a month after being hit by a murderous tear gas canister that was indiscriminately fired at demonstrating students by the fascist clique.

The Chon Tu-hwan clique perpetrated atrocious and violent acts against the students and citizens who were paying tribute to the patriotic students by firing tear gas and mobilizing several thousand combat police, which they had done from 5 July, when student Yi Han-yol died, until now. Thus, it injured a number of youths and students and arrested and imprisoned scores of them.

The Chon Tu-hwan clique, which had frustrated the memorial service for the patriotic student Pak Chong-chol, who was murdered by the fascist hangmen, by mobilizing more than hundreds of thousands of repressive police, again viciously blocked the memorial service for the patriotic student Yi Han-yol. This revealed the rascals' unchangeable bestial temperament and their true color as military hooligans.

It is moral and reasonable for the South Korean people, youths, and students to pay tribute to and hold a funeral service for the patriotic student, who was sacrificed while rising in a struggle against the fascist dictatorship and for the democratization of society. Nevertheless, the rascals blockaded even the funeral services while continuously perpetrating atrocious fascist acts by mobilizing [word indistinct] forces. This is indeed a barbarous act which can be committed only by such murderous traitors as Chon Tu-hwan and No Tae-u.

The Chon Tu-hwan clique's remarks on some people's attempt to use the death of Yi Han-yol for strategic purposes and on the people's concern and so forth are brigandish sophistry to justify its destruction of the memorial services and to make an excuse for repressing the people, which it is going to perpetrate more viciously in the future.

The reckless act of the puppet clique, which murdered patriotic and passionate youths with tear gas and even blocked their memorial and funeral services with guns and bayonets, is indeed a undisguised fascist attack on the South Korean people, youths, and students. This demonstrates the rascals' sense of crisis.

Today the puppet clique is attempting to arouse fantasy among the people by loudly talking about measures for democratization and so forth according to the script handed over by its U.S. masters and is attempting to realize the DJP's long-term power. appearing before the people in turn, traitors Chon Tu-hwan and No Tae-u announced measures to resolve the current situation while the DJP hooligans are responding to them by raving about detailed implementation plans and so forth. All this shows that the crisis in the puppets' rule has become irrevocably serious in the wake of the South Korean people's anti-U.S. and antifascist mass resistance struggle.

Moreover, with the sacrifice of the patriotic student who was killed by the puppet police's tear gas attack, the dictatorial force is being further rejected by the people. Under this situation, the Chon Tu-hwan clique maneuvered to hold the funeral service for Yi Han-yol quietly and smoothly at any cost, and even staged the drama of sending a wreath to the funeral services, thus maneuvering to evade the arrows of the peoples denunciation and condemnation directed to it.

The fascist clique's remarks about condolence and mourning are all lies, and its pledge to prevent such a situation is a cunning trick to appease and deceive the students and people. Otherwise, how can it perpetrate another tear gas attack on the masses who gathered to pay tribute to the patriotic student who was killed by the tear gas attack?

Even amid the vicious repression by the fascist hangmen, the South Korean people, youths, and students, as well as figures from opposition organizations, decided to hold the funeral service for Yi Han-yol slated for 9 July as a democratic pan-national funeral service in which all the people participate and announced that they will hold a rally soon to pay tribute to Yi Han-yol.

The soul aspiring for independence, democracy, and reunification cherished by the patriotic student Yi Han-yol still overflows in the ranks of struggle of tens of thousands of students and youths who shouted "Yi Han-yol never died, but is alive in the hearts of the people who aspire for democratization!", thus inspiring his classmates to the anti-U.S. struggle for independence and antifascist struggle for democratization.

The South Korean people, youths, and students will never tolerate the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u murderers but take revenge on them by many more times.

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